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THE

REFORMATION

AND

ANTI-REFORMATION

IN

BOHEMIA.

THE

REFORMATION

AND

ANTI-REFORMATION

IN

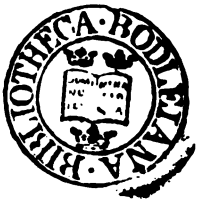
BOHEMIA.

From the German.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
HOULSTON AND STONEMAN, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1845.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PREFACE.

THE Bohemian Anti-reformation, or the suppression of Protestantism in those German countries where first a clearer light began to break in, though it forms one of the most important portions of the history of the Reformation, has yet been least cultivated; so that throughout several generations, these events have hardly been examined, nor has any distinct account of them been offered to the friends of history. The causes are very obvious: Bohemia has hitherto remained almost isolated from German literature; Bohemian theologians as rarely write for Germany, as German authors write concerning Bohemia.

Who, indeed, could attempt the necessary researches respecting the history of the Bohemian Anti-reformation? In Bohemia itself, nothing has been published, for there a desire rather exists that that history should continue in oblivion. Catholic authors *would* not, while the Protestant authors there *dared* not, write upon that subject. There are, therefore, few accounts extant in Germany, of the sufferings endured by the faithful professors of the pure Gospel in Bohemia. For not only have the

appalling statements and bitter complaints which the unhappy exiled clergymen and others made in Saxony, Holland, and elsewhere, during the seventeenth century, ceased to sound, but the censorship of the press has also prohibited Bohemian authors from speaking in praise of Bohemia's steadfast confessors.

The German church-historians lacked the particular documents from which they could minutely describe the sufferings of the non-catholics of Bohemia; and their resources and knowledge of the localities were too scanty. The archives are inaccessible, and though there are printed documents extant, they are nevertheless uncommonly rare in the libraries of Germany. Hence it is that nothing more is known of that important period, even among theologians, than what is immediately connected with the Thirty years war, or what has been handed down from the exiles.

The author, therefore, believes he is not about to lay before the reader a superfluous work, but one that is important and desirable, when he now makes an attempt to fill up a gap in German church history—to raise up a structure from the fragments of information still remaining of the most remarkable events, struggles, vicissitudes, and sufferings of those days, directly derived from rare and little known contemporary writings and documents; and thus erect a monument to so many heroes and

sufferers who were worthy of a better lot. Especially does he deem it his duty, as a theologian, and one who is of Bohemian blood, though not an inhabitant of that country, to preserve those fragments from becoming altogether extinct. Being possessed of many valuable Bohemian literary treasures, and having access to the extant books which were bequeathed by learned exiles from Bohemia to the town-library of Zittau, and furnished likewise with several rare documents from the collections at Dresden and Görlitz, as also from the library of the United Brethren in Herrnhut, he is enabled to present such a vivid picture of those unhappy times, as will, perhaps, not be displeasing to German students of church history, although many things to be wished for may be wanting, and the work can only lay claim to the title of an *essay*.

From Bohemia itself the author dared require nothing in writing, though numerous interesting papers, respecting the sanguinary period of the anti-reformation should necessarily be deposited there. How rich must be the Bohemian archives in official documents, and doubtless, also, in reports and correspondence of the commissioners of the anti-reformation themselves; in particular, the archiepiscopal archives at Prague, which could afford the most important contributions to such an historical work; perhaps, also, the archives at Leitmeritz, Königingrätz, Wittingau, &c. besides the imperial ar-

chives at Vienna. But though the author himself is a member of the Royal Society of Arts in the capital of Bohemia, any attempt to procure such documents for a Protestant purpose would have been utterly in vain.

There is consequently much to be desired in this work, and much room for improvement and completion by those who may have a more intimate knowledge of the subject; but this is the very cause why the author desires the present work to be considered as a mere essay; and its defects must find an apology in the fact that he is a foreigner, and only wishes to be esteemed as one who lends a helping hand in divulging valuable historical information.

The greater part of this information, it will be acknowledged, is new to the public, and the interest which will doubtless be felt in it, will be a sufficient recompense to the author for the labour of his task.

Much has been directly inserted from contemporary writings, especially from the Latin work "*de Persecutione Bohemica;*" because, on account of the great rarity of those books in the north of Germany, very few can have the opportunity of examining them; and most readers would find it more interesting to hear the ancients themselves speak. These authors are not exclusively Protestant, for the conscientious Romanists, Pessina, Balbin, and Pelzel, are also introduced.

The apprehension of incompleteness can certainly be no objection to his preserving and compiling these accounts for posterity, as far as they extend. And if the author incur censure from learned academic men, and more accurate judges of the church history of those centuries, he at least claims an acknowledgment of his *willingness* to assist in the labour.

What sympathy this work may meet with from Protestants, the result only can prove. It will, doubtless, give rise to much sorrow for the sufferings of their spiritual-forefathers, mingled with heartfelt thankfulness for their own prosperity and peace.

No attempt has been made to improve the narration by studied eloquence. The pages are filled with documents and facts only; and the author aspires to no higher merit than that of collecting, examining, arranging, and communicating those materials of history. He has at least preserved the memory of many warriors and sufferers—of many fearless confessors of scriptural truth, and of many undaunted martyrs, who cheerfully preferred death to the defilement of their conscience.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

Page.

Introductory History 1

CHAPTER II.

Times of Luther—Sufferings of the Bohemian Protestants under Ferdinand I.—Concession of the Cup to the Calixtines 45

CHAPTER III.

Maximilian II.—The Bohemian Confession—Church Regulations—Oppression in Moravia—Rudolph II. . 100

CHAPTER IV.

The Emperor Rudolph tolerates the Protestants—Opposition of the Papists—Proceedings in the Diet—The Bohemian Charter 127

CHAPTER V.

The Defenders—Administration of the Consistory—Utraquistical University—Instructions to the Defenders—Articles of Protection 185

CHAPTER VI.

Lutheran Churches in Prague—Protestant Arrangements—Mutual Offences—Jesuits and Prebendaries—Invasion of the Passauers 236

CHAPTER VII.

Page.

Period of the Emperor Matthias—Appointment of Ferdinand II.—Oppression of the Protestants—Disturbances at Braunau and Klostergrab—Count Thurn—Slawata and Martinitz—Violent conduct of the Defenders . 252

CHAPTER VIII.

Apologies—Consequences of the violent conduct of the Protestants—Expulsion of the Jesuits . . 302

CHAPTER IX.

Propositions and Armaments—Defence—Confederacy—Election of Frederic the Elector Palatine—The Cathedral seized by the Calvinists—Battle on the Whitehill—Its Results—Reconsecration of the Cathedral . 337

CHAPTER X.

Imprisonment of the Directors and Defenders—Inquisitions—Execution of the Leaders—Oration to their Memory—Other Punishments—Confiscation of Protestant Estates—Treatment of the Evangelicals in Moravia 386

THE

REFORMATION IN BOHEMIA.

CHAPTER I.

845 TO 1517.

INTRODUCTORY HISTORY.

BOHEMIA has often had the misfortune to become the theatre of persecution, distress, and bloodshed. Even the salutary introduction of Christianity was accompanied with scenes of revolting cruelty.

As early as the year 845, many Bohemians had embraced Christianity, through the medium of the Germans and Romans, in consequence of the wars of the German King Lewis. In 871,* Duke Borzivoy, upon a visit to Swatopluk, governor of the Moravians, became acquainted with the Christian religion, and he, his wife Ludmila, and their attendants, received holy baptism, probably at Olmütz.† On that occasion he formed a very happy acquaintance with the worthy priest Methodius. That memorable man, from Thessalonica, a monk and a painter, had been sent in 862 from Constantinople to Moravia as missionary, with his brother monk Cyrillus, an equally remarkable man, who

* Not 894, as is usually considered by various Bohemian historians. The critic Joseph Dobrowsky is undecided about Methodius' presence in Bohemia itself.

† On this Baptism, see Dubraw. hist. Bohem. 104; Palaky hist. of Bohemia, 135, &c.

invented the Sclavonic alphabet. These two laboured with faithful zeal, till Methodius, (according to the opinion of some) accompanied the Bohemian Duke to his own country, where many were converted, and several churches were built.

The good work which Borzivoy had begun, Drahomira, the heathen wife of his son Wratislaw, sought afterwards to destroy. She raged both against christians and churches; and Ludmila, Borzivoy's widow, and her grandson Duke Wenzel, fell victims to her fury. It was not till the reign of Boleslaw the Pious that Christianity obtained security and peace in Bohemia.

In the year 968, a distinct bishopric was formed at Prague for Bohemia, which until that period had been subject to the bishop of Regensburg; and Hatto, archbishop of Mayence, consecrated the Saxon Dethmar, bishop of Bohemia. Then the Pope required—even in that country, where the Christianity brought in by Methodius was properly derived from the Greek church,* and the Sclavonic liturgy had been introduced in several places—that every thing should be arranged in conformity with the Romish ritual. The use of the Latin language in divine service, the celibacy of the priests, and the Lord's supper without the cup, were especially enforced.† But the Bohemians made great resistance.

* See Schmidt's answer to the question whether the Christianity of Methodius in Bohemia, was taught according to the Greek or the Romish church?

† Rieger's hist. of the Boh. brethren, i. 75. Palaky in his work on formal books, p. 334, contains a strict law of celibacy, by Archbishop Peter of Mayence, to the clergy of Prague, in the year 1311.

With regard to the first of these, though certain Bohemian delegates obtained, in 977, a temporary permission for the use of the liturgy in the Sclavonic language, it was soon afterwards resolved by Rome that the vulgar tongue should be expelled from the churches. An order to that effect by Pope Gregory VII. in the year 1079, is still extant, in which he asserts, that "it is the pleasure of Almighty God that divine worship should be held in a private language, though all do not understand it. For were the singing general and loud, the language might easily fall into contempt and disgust." The forbearance, consequently, at first shewn to the newly converted people, soon ceased.

In the year 1197, Pope Celestin III. sent the Cardinal *a lata via* to Prague, to insist most positively upon the celibacy of the priests, which had as yet not become general in Bohemia. The legate was, however, listened to with great indignation.

In the year 1353, under the archbishop of Prague, Ernst de Pardubitz, (commonly called Arnestus, who attained that dignity in 1343), the *communion without the cup* was again insisted upon; as it had been recommended by Alexander de Hales, Thomas Aquinas, and Bonaventura; and had become common in the 12th, and almost general in the 13th and 14th centuries.* Foreign professors and students who had been accustomed in their native country to the

* It did not become a law of the church until the council of Constance. Spittler's hist. of the cup of the communion, Lemgo. 1793; Giesler's church history, ii. 2, 374. Up to that time the cup was imparted in some places. See *Chemniti examen concilii Tridentini*, ii. 134, where the procurators of the council acknowledge it themselves.

Lord's supper under one form, promoted this innovation in Prague. Nevertheless, in 1390, the communion under both forms was for some time allowed at Kuttenberg by Boniface IX., probably because those mountaineers had always been treated with much forbearance.

There is no want of evidence to shew that in Bohemia, the legal, canonical solemnity of the holy supper had been prevalent before the time of Huss.* The names of such champions for scriptural truth in the fourteenth century, as Militz, Stickna, and Janow, ought to be held in lasting remembrance by the friends of true religion. Militz was a prebendary and preacher of the cathedral at Prague, and much beloved as an orator; he spoke freely against many improprieties in the church, and recommended the use of the cup; as also did his learned and eloquent colleague, Conrad Stickna. But when this was reported at Rome, orders from Pope Gregory XI. were issued, and imprisonment became their lot. Stickna afterwards died in exile in 1369, and Militz in 1374. They had certainly provoked the Pope by applying to him the name of Antichrist;† but they were justified in using the expression, by observing that many things were required and done at Rome contrary to the mind of Christ; and they believed it to be their duty to bring this into public notice, according to Matth. v. 14—16. x. 27, &c. Matthew Janow, who trod in their footsteps,

* Persecut. 19—24; Comenii hist. fratrum, 6; Wengersky libri Sclavoniæ reformatæ, 16, 158, 307; Zitte's lives of the forerunners of Huss, Prague, 1786. With regard to Militz, see church history of Schröckh, xxxiv. 568.

† Wengersky, 152.

had received a superior education at Paris, and was distinguished as confessor to Charles IV. He had clear views of the irregularities in the church at that period, and requested the king to assemble a council for the purpose of reformation. Charles applied to the Pope; but such an appeal found no sympathy at Rome. The answer expressed indignation,—and exile for Janow. He was ultimately allowed to return; but this was purchased at the cost of a recantation, and even then he was obliged to live privately until his death, in 1394. The use of the cup in the Lord's supper was now again prohibited in the cathedral at Prague. It could only be enjoyed in secret, or in private houses,—and afterwards only in forests,*—under persecutions and at the peril of life, until the time of Huss.

On the 18th of September, 1376, Charles IV. issued a mandate, enjoining a strict adherence to the Romish ceremonies on pain of death; and in the appointments to public offices special regard was had to those who professed the doctrines of Rome. This was accompanied with serious results; for more Germans than Bohemians were found qualified by their principles for employment in the state.

Before we arrive at the era of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, it must be observed that so early as the 12th century the Waldenses entered Bohemia;† and in the 14th century some writings of John Wiklif were introduced from England by Peter

* Those returning from such worship were often waylaid by armed men, and ill-treated. Wengersky, 159.

† Rieger's history of the Brethren, i. 148.

Payne. But after Anna, the daughter of Charles IV., became the consort of Richard, king of England, some correspondence ensued between the latter country and Bohemia. Jerome of Prague himself had been in England, and in the year 1400 he returned with Wiklif's writings, which (translated by Huss) were treasured by many a young student in Bohemia.*

At this time also lived Peter de Laun, who disapproved of various Popish ceremonies. Innocent VII. wrote to the archbishop against him and his followers. Orders were also issued against the Wiklifites in Bohemia and Moravia, (with especial reference to the celebration of the communion,) in which Wiklif is called a *damned arch-heretic*, and his labour a cancerous affection; but it is remarked, that the number of his followers was already considerable. The Pope enjoins care to be taken, that none be spared, not even priests or academical teachers; and Wiklif's works are commanded to be wrested from them, and they themselves imprisoned. Such were the orders of the Pope in 1409 at Pistoja, and again at Constance in 1416, where Wiklif is coupled with Huss, and complaint is made that men dare even to praise him, after he had been condemned and burnt. Among the champions prior to Huss, Jacobellus of Misa, tutor of the University, and curate of Prague, deserves to be mentioned; he wrote in favour of the use of the cup,† and handed it to the laity himself. His inveterate opponent was Andreas Broda.

* It is questioned whether Wiklif's letter of 1387 (given by Comenius, ii. 7) to young Huss, be genuine.

† V. d. Hardt. Concil. Constant. iii. 805, 826.

The celebrated John Huss* was born in 1373. He became tutor of the academy at Prague in 1398, and Bohemian minister of the Bethlehem church in that city. He was a man of great sagacity, of irreproachable conduct, and very zealous for the true welfare of Christendom. He preached with great eloquence and power in the public streets of Prague, even after his expulsion in 1413, and subsequently in the district of Bechin, against the prevailing vices of his day. At first king Wenceslaus, and the good queen Sophia, and even the archbishop himself acknowledged Huss to be a useful and active man. But he soon appeared as a mighty champion of the truth: for he censured the faults of the degenerate clergy of his time, especially the many abuses of the hierarchy; denounced the unscriptural communion *sub una;* and afterwards opposed in writing the monks, the worship of images, the mass for departed souls, auricular confession, and even the Pope himself.† He also earnestly recommended the writings of Wiklif, which had proved a blessing to his own soul.

In the year 1404, two learned Englishmen, James and Conrad of Canterbury, came to Prague and spoke much against the Pope. But when this was prohibited, they, by consent of their host, Luke Welensky, caused to be painted in a room of the house where they lodged, in the suburb of Prague, the history of Christ's passion on the one side, and on the other the pomp of the papal

* Neudecker's hist of the reform. (1843) p. 35. Pelzel's life of King Wenceslaus, i. 243, &c.

† See the first chapter of the Hussite war, by Theobald; Wengersky, Slavonia reformata, p. 16, &c.

court. Huss mentioned these representations publicly, as a true antithesis between Christ and Antichrist;—and all ran to see them.

In the year 1408, on the 24th of May, the articles of Wiklif were again examined and condemned by forty masters, and a great number of bachelors, and it was forbidden under pain of banishment for any to teach them. When John Huss saw that the German academicians spake so powerfully on the part of the Pope, deeming that something ought to be done to restrain their insolence, he delivered a speech before a large assemblage of people in the Caroline college; and asserted that to the Bohemians as natives appertained a plurality of votes, and not to the Germans as foreigners; for although Charles on the foundation of the academy conceded three votes to aliens, and the fourth to the Bohemians, in giving forth their suffrages, because of the paucity of natives who then studied letters, yet in his last charter he fully declared his mind to be that the mode adopted by the university of Paris should be observed, where foreigners enjoy only one vote, the natives three.

The Germans, enraged at this, appealed to king Wenceslaus, and the Bohemians did the same. The king, after delaying the decision of the matter more than a year, at length pronounced for the latter, on the 27th Sept. 1409. The Germans, affronted by this indignity, as they interpreted it, departed from Prague, and arriving in the neighbouring Misnia, founded schools at Leipsic and Erfurt. In the meantime, by vote of the Bohemians, John Huss was created rector of the university of Prague,—where his own hand writing may yet be seen among

its documents. He still continued to speak against the vices of the clergy; whilst the ignorant archbishop Sbynko, from Hasenberg, who afterwards accused Huss to the Pope, ordered Wiklif's writings to be burnt to ashes in his own palace. How these had been valued, appeared from the beauty of the manuscripts, which even on the exterior were adorned with golden ornaments.

In the year 1411, indulgences were sent from Rome; the Pope wanting money to carry on the war against king Lewis of Naples. In three churches, some spirited orators, spoke publicly against them. But they were soon cast into prison, and afterwards beheaded, notwithstanding the intercessions that were made in their behalf.

The day following Huss published theses both against that crusade and the indulgences,* and also disputed against them, in concert with Jerome of Prague, who, (like Melancthon, Luther's friend) as academic tutor, trained the youths, whilst the other laboured in the church as public speaker. The students were on their side; and they, violently snatching the bulls from the preacher of indulgences, made a mock procession, and finally burned them in the market place of Prague.

Huss was now summoned to Rome; but his friends advised him not to go. In consequence of his refusal, Pope John XXIII. excommunicated the city, which caused no small disturbance. Whereupon Huss, the brave assertor of an indispensable reform, which was to restore to the degenerate

* See biography of the learned men of Bohemia, by Voight and Pelzel (1773), ii. 84. Bulls against Huss, by Balbinus. Miscell. vi. 154.

church the purity and simplicity of scriptural Christianity, voluntarily left Prague, and taught in various places; sheltering himself at last in the castle of Cracow, until he went to the council of Constance, under a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund, which, contrary to all good faith, was disgracefully violated.* There, as is universally known, he was accused by the professor Peter Pelez, and the curate Mich. de Causis, examined, condemned, and mocked, and on the 6th of July, 1415, burned to death. He was doubtless the worthiest man of the whole assembly. His ashes were soon scattered through all countries: and on the 30th of May, in the following year, his friend Jerome died the same martyr's death.

On the 2nd Sept. 1416, the principal Bohemians and Moravians in Prague sent letters to Constance,

* John Huss was a victim, not only to the hatred of his enemies, but also to the weakness and superstition, perhaps the treachery, of the Emperor, who was induced to abandon him to their blood-thirsty malice. "When Huss was accused in the Council of having slighted the Pope's excommunication—'I have not,' says he, 'despised it, but I have appealed against it in my sermons, and, as I did not think it lawful, I continued the functions of my priesthood. Not being able to appear before the Pope, for reasons which I have mentioned elsewhere, I sent my proctors to Rome, where they were committed to prison, then turned out of the city, and in other respects abused. It was this that induced me to come of my own accord to the Council, *under the public faith of the Emperor here present.*' Upon pronouncing these words he looked earnestly at Sigismund, who, according to the report of the old author of the life of Huss, could not help blushing."—*L'Enfant. Hist. of the Council of Constance*, i. p. 422. . . . When Charles the Fifth was solicited by Eccius and others, at the diet of Worms, to cause Luther to be arrested, (notwithstanding the safe-conduct he had granted him,) the Emperor answered, "*I do not care to blush with my predecessor Sigismund.*"—*Ibid.*

complaining of the burning of the faithful preacher: but they were counted unworthy of a reply; while those of the nobility who had been opposed to Huss, were entreated to aid the bishop of Leitomischl in crushing the heresy.*

In consequence of this counsel, Bohemia, was torn with discord and dissensions, and the adversaries of truth urged those unhappy results, as reasons for interfering with the statutes of the church. The Hussites were anathematized and execrated from the pulpits,† and persecuted in various ways; which gave rise, on the 30th of July, 1419, to a terrible tumult at Prague, wherein twelve senators of the old town, with the chief magistrate, were, by the enraged populace, thrown from the windows of the senate-house, and caught on the points of lances from below. The new pope, Martin V., had issued from Constance, in 1418, letters of exhortation and warning to the Hussites;‡ and in 1420, having taken up arms, on the Pope's absolute refusal of the cup, they were excommunicated. His Holiness at the same time sent summonses to the cities and potentates of Germany, adjuring them by the wounds of Christ and their own salvation to attack and subdue the Hussites; promising universal remission of sins even to the most wicked who should kill but one heretic.§ Upon this the Emperor Sigismund sent an army into Bohemia,

* See Persecut. 33.

† As was often done in the *bulla coenæ Domini.*

‡ Proceedings of the council of Constance in 1417. Lünig's Reichsarchiv, P. special contin. first continuation, 69, V. d. Hardt. hist. Conc. Const.

§ Persec. 34. See the epistle of Martin, in Balbin. Miscell. hist. Boh. vi. 161. iv. 132, &c.

and war raged for thirteen years; but Ziska, the valiant leader of the Hussites was never conquered. On both sides the most barbarous cruelties were practised: while many suffered death on account of their adherence to true doctrine. Among others, Wenzel Hochta, a very respectable citizen of Prague, was condemned to the flames, because he spoke against processions.

About the same time John Krasa, a merchant of Prague, while at Breslau upon business, (where the emperor Sigismund, and the papal legate Fernando, held a conference upon the measures to be adopted against the Bohemians) happened in conversation to disapprove of the burning of Huss, and to defend the communion under both forms;—for which he was seized and thrown into a dungeon. The day following Nicolas of Bethlehem was cast into the same prison, because he had been sent from Prague with the declaration, that the emperor would be recognised as king of Bohemia, only when he should declare himself for the use of the cup in the communion. Sigismund's indignation against the delegate was soon manifested. He was condemned to be burnt. Krasa cheered him in the prison, and reminded him of the sufferings of the old martyrs, and of the everlasting joy that would follow their momentary pains. On the 14th of March, 1420, Nicolas was led out to die; but when the ropes were fastened to his feet, by which a horse was to drag him to the place of execution, he was seized by the fear of death, and yielding to the fair promises of the legate, who was then present, he renounced the doctrines of Huss.

But Krasa, notwithstanding that the same offers

were made to him, continued immoveable as a rock. He was then slowly dragged through the streets. The legate, who would have preferred his recantation to his execution, followed him, and several times ordered the procession to halt, exhorting Krasa to recant, and save his life. But he steadfastly replied, "I am ready to die for the gospel of Jesus." He then, half dead, reached the place of execution and perished in the flames. The next day the legate ordered Pope Martin's excommunication, and a crusade against the Bohemians to be announced from the pulpits and placarded on the walls of the churches.*

In the year 1421 the miseries of the Bohemians greatly increased. Besides the executions by drowning, by fire, and by the sword—several thousands of the followers of Huss, especially the Taborites, of all ranks and both sexes, were thrown down the old mines and pits of Kuttenberg.†

Whilst the lamentable and horrible abominations of the Hussite war, and the cruel proceedings of the degenerate and rude Calixtines (who also persecuted the Taborites and the Bohemian brethren) are generally known, little has been published respect-

* For these and the following events see Persecut. 38, &c. and Jacobæi idea mutationum, &c. Amst. 1624.

† In one pit were thrown 1700, in another 1308, and in a third 1321 persons. Every year, on the 18th of April, a solemn meeting was held in a chapel built there, in memory of those martyrs, until the year 1613, when the mint-master, Wrschesowetz, endeavoured to prevent it, yet it continued until the great persecution of 1621. A monument, it is said, still marks the place. Lasitius origo fratrum, &c. i. 69; Theobald's Hussite war (1624), p. 150. Rieger's hist. of the Boh. brethren, ii. 592, &c.; Regenvolscius Systema hist. eccles. Slavonic.

ing the sufferings which the Hussites, at this time, endured. It was not the death of Huss and Jerome alone which provoked them, but also the execution of many other men of like principles. And the less those cruelties are known out of Bohemia, the more needful is it to exhibit to Christians of the present day some of the painful and affecting scenes through which those confessors of the truth had to pass. On the death of king Wenceslaus, in 1419, Sigismund obtained the Bohemian monarchy, and through his delegates (for he did not appear there until afterwards with his army) issued such orders, as were considered derogatory to liberty of conscience and a pure faith; whereupon many thousands, who had embraced the doctrines of Huss, retired to a rocky hill ten miles from Prague, named Tabor, which they surrounded with a wall: there they founded a city, which they resolved to defend by arms, if necessary.

Those of the Bohemians who adhered to the Romish principles opposed them, as did also afterwards the Calixtine Hussites. The former assaulted them wherever they could, carrying on an incessant persecution; even when the Taborites sent Gallus Perstein and Matthias Blasius for the purpose of treating for peace, the Kuttenbergers seized them (for they adhered to the emperor, being most of them German miners) and threw them into one of their deepest pits. At the same time a price was set on the heads of the Taborites; for a priest was paid five guilders, and for a layman one; which gave occasion to many horrid butcheries.

At Leitmeritz the burgomaster Pichel, a cruel and deceitful man, seized in one night twenty-four

respectable citizens, among whom was his own son-in-law, and threw them into a deep dungeon near St. Michael's gate. When they were half dead from cold and hunger, he, assisted by some of the imperial officers, had them taken out, under a guard, and pronounced upon them the sentence of death.* They were then chained upon waggons, and conveyed to the banks of the Elbe, to be thrown into the water. A multitude of people assembled, with the wives and children of the prisoners, making great lamentation. The burgomaster's daughter came also, she was his only child, and with clasped hands threw herself at his feet, interceding for the life of her husband. But the father, harder than a stone, said: "Spare your tears, you know not what you desire. Cannot you have a more worthy husband than he?" Finding her father thus inexorable, she arose and said: "Father, you shall not give me in marriage again!" Smiting her breast, and tearing her hair, she followed her husband with the rest. When the martyrs had arrived at the bank of the Elbe, they were thrown from the waggons; and while the boats were preparing, they raised their voices, calling heaven and earth to witness that they were innocent; then bidding their wives, and children, and friends farewell, they exhorted them to constancy and zeal, and obedience to the word of God, rather than the commandments of men; finally they prayed for their enemies, and then commended their souls to God. Their hands being bound to their feet, they were conveyed in the boats to the middle of the river, and there thrown into the stream.

* The municipal authorities were at that time invested with this power.

The banks were lined with executioners, provided with pikes, who took care that none should escape; for when any came floating near the shore, although half dead, they were stabbed and forced back to the middle of the river. The burgomaster's daughter, fixing her eyes upon her husband, sprang into the river, and embracing him, strove hard to draw him from the water. But, as it was too deep for her to get a firm footing, and she was unable to loosen his bands, they both sank. The following day they were found clasped in each other's arms, and were buried in one grave. This was done on the 30th of May, 1421.

In the same year, Albert of Austria sent auxiliary troops to Sigismund, his father-in-law, and his horsemen, in Arnostowicz, a village near Miliczin, seized the curate Wenceslaus, with his chaplain, three peasants, and four children, the eldest of whom was only eleven years old; the former, because he had administered the Lord's supper under both forms, and the latter because they had partaken of it. They were carried before the military prefect of the camp at Bistritz, who sent them to the bishop. The latter required that the curate should abjure that mode of administering the communion, or he should suffer in the flames for his temerity. But he fearlessly replied: "So the gospel teaches, and even your mass-books contain the same. It therefore must be right, unless you renounce the scriptures." This plain answer offended those present, and a soldier struck him in the face with his fist, so that the blood flowed instantly from his nose and mouth. The bishop then sent him back to the general, and the latter returned him again to the

bishop.* After they had mocked them a whole night, they were led out in the morning, (Sunday, July 7th, 1420) and fixed to the stake, the little ones being put upon the lap of the curate. The bishop was present, and exhorted them to renounce the cup by an oath. To this the faithful curate answered for himself and the rest: "Far be it from us! we will rather die a hundred deaths, than deny such a plain evangelic doctrine."† Then the executioner was ordered to set fire to the pile. The flame consumed them, and they ascended up in the smoke, as was believed, an acceptable burnt-offering to God.

On the same day Conrad of Westphalia, then archbishop of Prague, renounced his office. Being irritated at such cruelties, and convinced of the unjust demands of the Pope, he joined those who celebrated the communion under both forms, and taking up arms, offered himself as leader of the *utraquists* of Prague, against the popish party. He died in exile in the year 1426. Some of the catholic writers state that, like his predecessor Albik, he was not watchful and prudent, that he had himself fallen into the errors of Wiklif and Huss, and that he had wasted and mortgaged the bishopric.‡ Conrad chose four clergymen of Prague as administrators of a *utraquistical* consistory, namely, John of

* See Luke xxiii. 11.

† It must be remembered that this was not a contention about mere words; it did not regard the use of the cup alone. It was a question of *principle:* whether the Romanist was at liberty to alter the express commandments of Christ, and whether the Christian dared oppose himself to the decisions of Constance. Who was right? The one who acted in accordance with the apostles, Acts iv. 19.

‡ See Wengersky, 19.

Przibram (first administrator), Procopius Pilsen professor of theology at the Caroline, Jacobellus Mies, or Strzibro, (the famous speaker for the *utraque*) and John Zeliveus.

This was the first consistory of the kind; and even afterwards when the Emperor Sigismund sought to restore the bishopric, he recognised the consistory, (though it was still without the Romish sanction of canonical validity*), and then confirmed it—as it had legally continued from 1409 to 1422. The vacancy in the bishopric, occasioned by Conrad's resignation, continued 140 years, until it was restored by Ferdinand I. in 1561.†

The enemies of the utraquists continued their persecution in various ways. On the 26th of Dec. 1420, Hinko Czerwenshorsky, captain of Jaromir, broke into the church of Kerczin during divine service; ordering some to be massacred, and others to be taken prisoners. He then took the chalice full of wine from the altar, drank to the health of his horse, and gave him also to drink, saying that his horse even had become a utraquist.‡

Zdenko of Wartenberg, and others, interceded with Sigismund, for the Hussites or utraquists, and succeeded so far, that Herrmann, titular bishop of Nicopolis, then a prisoner in the castle of Lipnitz, was constrained to ordain two ministers of the gospel, who were to administer the sacrament under both forms. In consequence of this, Herrmann and the

* V. Buchholtz Ferdinand II., 398. iv. 423.

† Persec. 45. Pessina, 601.

‡ Perhaps Voight alludes to *this*, when (Doctors i. 93) he says, that many things in the writings of Comenius have the appearance of romance.

two other clergymen were drowned in a fish pond, in the year 1419.

Many of the nobility persecuted the utraquistical clergy with the most wanton barbarity. Thus John Miestezky and Puta Czastalowitz went unexpectedly to Konijengräz, set fire to part of the town, entered St. Ann's church, and killed the minister during his service at the altar. A shoemaker named Wenzel, for turning his back upon the host, was put in a barrel and burnt. Martin Loquis was accused of introducing the errors of the Waldenses into the sacrament, and of teaching " with horrid profaneness," that the bread and the cup should be handed to the communicants. At the intercession of the town of Tabor he escaped; and to avoid the hatred and rage of his enemies he fled to Moravia with another clergyman, Procopius Jednook. Passing through Chrudim they were recognized and put in irons. When examined as to their views of the holy supper, Martin said, " that the body of Christ is in heaven, and that he has one only, and no more." Such a presumptuous blasphemy, the officer who had seized them could not bear. He struck the prisoner; and then sent for the executioner to commit the heretics to the flames. Ambrosius, curate of Hradek, who happened to be present, begged to have them given into his own charge. He took them to Hradek, kept them fifteen days, and took all imaginable pains to bring them to confess and renounce their errors. But finding them immoveable, he sent them to Raudnitz, where they were detained two months in a dungeon, and tormented in various ways. There they were so tortured by fire, in order to force them to declare

whence they had learned their errors, and who were their accomplices, that their intestines came out. When admonished to return to the way of truth, they answered smilingly: "It is not for us, but for yourself to think of such a return; you have departed from the word of God to erroneous and antichristian opinions, ye worship the creature instead of the Creator!" In consequence of this, on the 21st August, 1421, they were condemned to the flames. When the priest exhorted them, to request the people's prayers in their behalf, they answered: "We do not stand in need of those prayers. But you, Christians, pray for yourselves, and for those who mislead you, that the Father of mercies may deliver you from your darkness." Having arrived at the place of execution, they were put into a barrel and burnt. Soon after this several men of like faith, were imprisoned at Prague, merely because they had disapproved of the burning of wax candles before the sacrament.

The above mentioned John Zeliveus, one of the consistory, distinguished for his learning and eloquence, not only defended the pure principles of the Taborites, but persuaded the people of Prague to change their council.* For this the governor of the Altstadt (Oldtown) of Prague, Haschek of Welisch (often the subject of his censure), conspired with the half-popish council, and decoyed him and twelve others, under false pretences, into the town-hall, on the 9th of March, 1422, where, on their arrival, they were instantly seized and beheaded. When the blood was seen flowing from the hall, it occasioned a great uproar; the people ran together,

* This, of course, partakes of the nature of a political offence.

broke open the doors, and sought the bodies of the beheaded. One found the head of Zeliveus, and presented it to the people surrounding the town-hall, which caused an indescribable wailing. Gaudentius, a priest, laid the head upon a dish, carried it through the city, and called upon all he met for vengeance. This excited the fury of the multitude. The academical colleges were plundered; several of the senators were killed, and others fled. But the bodies of the beheaded were carried into the church, and buried with great lamentation. The minister, who addressed the people from Acts viii. 2, presenting the head of Zeliveus, conjured them to bear in mind what they had learned from that faithful teacher, and if even an angel from heaven should teach otherwise, not to believe him.

All this tended to increase the exasperation on both sides.

The greater portion of those who took upon themselves the name of Huss, had by this time greatly degenerated, which not only produced *separation*, but many of them even *persecuted* the faithful Hussites. All indeed agreed in this one thing, to attack whatever was antichristian, after the example of Huss. But there was wanting an able, wise, and upright leader to keep the excited populace within the bounds of order. The lower classes of the people and the priests sought for nothing but the participation of the *cup* (from whence they were called *Calixtines*), and paid no regard to the other doctrines of Huss.* They confessed that in all other rites they agreed with the Romish church.

* To the Calixtines belonged at that time the greatest part of the nobility, the council of Prague, the councillors of other

But the Taborites (among whom were distinguished two excellent men, Wenzel Koranda and Nic. Biskupecz [Episcopius]) began, with a few others, to insist upon purity and simplicity in the articles of faith and the rites of the church;* and maintained that henceforth nothing of superstition ought to be suffered among them.

About this time also the hateful name of Picards or Picardites was renewed. The Picards (Beghards) were properly those Waldenses, who not long before were driven from France, and had settled in Austria, where they were already hated as abominable heretics.†

cities and many of the people. The cup had become the object upon which their minds were fixed, and every contention was based upon the point, whether one was for the communion *sub una*, or *sub utraque specie*. The papal permission of the cup, finally obtained in 1437, almost by force, was published at Prague in the Latin, German, and Hungarian languages, written in the Churches in golden letters, and large cups were even placed upon the steeples, as may be seen at Leitmeritz to this day. The most remarkable cup, with a gilt sword, was fixed to the gable end of the Tein church at Prague. Theobald's war of the Hussites, 321. Pelzel's Jesuits, 15. A middle party between Calixtines and Taborites were, after the death of Ziska, "the orphans."

* Rieger's History of the Brethren, ii, 749, seq. On Koranda, Pelzel's Doctors, ii, 67. To the Taborites belonged also the famous Ziska, as also Procopius the Holy or Rasus. Koranda of Pilsen died February 1, 1519, aged 95.

† They have been erroneously classed with the much slandered Adamites, Cave-dwellers, and Garden-brethren. See Dobrowsky's treatise of the Boh. Hist. of Science, iv. 200, also Beausobre's dissertation on the Adamites of Bohemia. Ferdinand I. opposed them greatly See Ruzicka hist. of the evang. church at Prague, 13. Alexander IV. appointed inquisitors against the Picards, as Waldenses, in 1499. Balb. Misc. vi. 119. The inquisitor complains that the Utraquists turned Picards. ibid. 195.

Thus everywhere violence and persecution were practised. There were also some who became faithless to Ziska, the leader of the Taborites, and joining the Calixtines, persecuted both Papists and Picards with fire and sword.

In 1427 the administrators of the utraquistical consistory at Prague, and several others, on account of their confession of purer doctrine, were first incarcerated in a most filthy prison, and then expelled from the country. In consequence of these divisions and persecutions, it would have been nothing remarkable if the Papists had overcome the Hussites. Yet, whenever the Emperor's army hastened to attack them, the various parties instantly made peace, and defended the common cause with their united force. The leaders of the Taborites, Ziska and Procopius, were remarkably active, and God gave them wonderful prosperity and victory. When the Emperor and the Pope saw, that nothing could be done by force of arms, recourse was had to subtilty, and a council was convoked at Basle in 1432.

The Bohemians were invited by the council to an amicable accommodation of their differences. Accordingly, they sent three hundred delegates to Basle,* among whom were the Calixtines, John Rokyzan,† of Prague, a pupil of Jacobellus

* See documents on the relation of Bohemia to the council (Theob. chap. 77, seq.) Wengersky, 20.

† On this remarkable, eloquent, but ambiguous man, see the minute accounts in Pelzel's Doctors, ii. 89. 104. Köhler's Rokyzan, Altorf, 1718. Rieger's Hist. of the Brethren. He often persecuted Catholic Priests with the same cruelty as he did those of the Hussites.

Mies, and Nicholas Biskupecz, of Tabor; of the secular nobles, Procopius the leader of the Taborites, William Kostka, Baron of Postupicz, and others. They met with a friendly reception; and when interrogated as to the nature of their demands, they proposed four articles, which were either to be granted, or they would fight for them.

These (so called) articles of Prague, (already contemplated in 1421), were thus expressed:

1. That the cup be restored to the use of the people, and the whole of divine service performed in the vulgar tongue.* 2. That the clergy have no secular power. 3. That the word of God be taught without restraint.† 4. That the public sins (of the clergy) be publicly punished. These four articles were called the *compactates.*

The legate of the Pope then asked whether they had any more.‡ "For," said he, "it is reported that you are of opinion that the orders of monks are of the devil." Procopius replied, "Whence *can* that be, which is neither of the patriarchs, nor of the prophets, nor of Christ, nor of the apostles?"

Men were chosen from both parties, who discussed the subject during fifty days. As the Bohemians did not allow themselves to be overpowered in disputation, it ended in an amicable agreement. But when Rokyzan was flattered with the dignity of

* Thus had divine service been generally performed from the times of Methodius, before the Roman order had been insisted upon by the Pope.

† After the convention with the Calixtines at Prague it was added, "but not without the sanction of the clerical authorities, and the greatest respect for the Pope must also be presupposed."

‡ The Taborites had, in fact, spoken of twelve other articles.

archbishop of Prague, and he again on his part had drawn aside the other legates, the matter was so compromised, that the Bohemians promised to return to the obedience of the papal chair, its doctrines and rites. Nevertheless, the cup, and the other articles were granted them, "upon condition that the priests should at all times tell the communicants that they are positively to believe, that under the form of the bread, they do by no means receive the body only, nor under the form of the wine, the blood only, but the *whole* Christ in *each* form."

Legates were at the same time sent to Bohemia on the part of the Emperor and the council, who declared that the Bohemians were again restored to the bosom of the church, and counted as dear children, with the exhortation that one party should not hinder or find fault with another. Rokyzan also attended an imperial diet, and boasted much of the successful acquisition of that, for which so much blood had been shed, and the empire laid waste; but he now spoke differently of the Pope and the Emperor. Many of the zealous Taborites regretted that the path of Huss had thus been forsaken, and that a union had again been established with those who desired what was unchristian. They spoke against it on every occasion, and in 1434 a new contention of arms ensued, which resulted in the defeat of the Taborites, who thenceforth could only defend themselves with the weapons of the word, and by patience.

There were many others besides the Taborites who were dissatisfied with the *compactates*. They granted *too little* for some, and the concession of the cup appeared to others to be *too much*. The Romanists

regretted it, as something which had been extorted, and ought to be retracted. Thus Catholics and utraquists subsisted legally together, under a separate church government.

The succeeding Popes did not cease to disapprove of the communion *sub utraque*, and to require the one *sub una*. They would no longer consider the utraquistical consistory as valid, and Rokyzan, who by consent of the Emperor Sigismund, had been chosen archbishop in the diet of 1435, and confirmed by him, they would only acknowledge on condition that he should altogether renounce the cup and the four articles of Prague.

Rokyzan, indignant at this, became more anti-papal, and no longer satisfied with the compactates, now publicly taught that the forms of religion ought to be established according to the law of Christ alone. He desired a total reformation; but always hesitated to take a decided step. He even, at last, became unfavourable to the "Brethren," instigated the King against them, and procured orders for their expulsion. In consequence of which they endured cruel and bloody persecutions, especially in Moravia.

Nevertheless, the mouths of the defenders of pure doctrine could not be shut. Again and again new defenders of purer Christianity arose. Besides Rokyzan, there laboured openly, in 1436, Przibislaw Giessenitz, and Jacobellus Mies, already mentioned, who taught in the Bethlehem church in the old town of Prague, Peter de Dresden, known also as a poet, with several others, who favoured the evangelical doctrine at Basle. They were encouraged to this by the study of the Bible.

Accordingly it was said in that council, "A common layman, with the Bible at his side, is more to be credited than a whole council when contrary to the Bible."

At that time Nicholas Biskupecz, a distinguished clergyman, already mentioned, laboured at Tabor, and, together with other zealous utraquists, on the 14th of Dec. 1430, obtained from the Emperor Sigismund a promise of greater conventional freedom in the arrangement of religious rites.

Rokyzan also introduced hymns in the vulgar tongue into the churches and schools of Bohemia. In this the clergy at Saaz assisted him, and chiefly Martin Lupak, the dean of that place, Peter Payne, and Matthew Lauda of Chlumczan, whose names are still found in the old Bohemian hymn-books. These men also contended courageously against the resolutions of the council which was held by Pope Eugenius in 1439, and transferred from Ferrara to Florence. At that time Krzistan Prachacicz, curate of St. Michael's, in the old town of Prague, and an able physician and astronomer, was chosen administrator of the utraquistical consistory there, and confirmed in the office by the then King Albert. Those men had doubtless much to contend with, seeing that the Romish party constantly opposed and persecuted them.

The aged clergymen, Payne and Koranda, were only saved from being drowned by the interference of some respectable citizens. But the curate, Procopius, had the misfortune to be starved to death in a subterranean dungeon of the castle of Wartenberg. Rokyzan and others endured imprisonments,

but their lives were spared, and they were eventually restored to liberty.

A more peaceful time arrived for Bohemia, when George Podiebrad assumed the government, first as regent, during the minority of King Ladislaw (1450), and afterwards as king (1458). He was a friend of the Hussites, but especially of the Calixtines. Nevertheless, the Synod of Florence pronounced an anathema against the utraquists of Moravia and Bohemia; and George, in his coronation oath on the 6th of May, 1450, declared that "he was willing to be subject and obedient to the holy Roman Catholic church, and Pope Callistus, and his lawful successors, like other catholic christian kings, in the unity of orthodox faith, according to the confession, preaching and observances of the Roman Catholic and Apostolic church; that he was willing to protect and defend that creed with all his ability, and, by the assistance of God to recall his people from all errors, sects, and heresies, and other "articles" militating against the holy Roman church and the christian faith; and to bring them back to the obedience of the true catholic faith, to the agreement, unity, and worship of the holy Roman church; and to use all diligence that this, as far as possible, be done to the glory of God, and to the exaltation of the holy catholic faith."

In 1465 Podiebrad appointed a religious conference between the nobles and citizens of both parties, but without any result. In the following year he was himself condemned and anathematized by the Pope; and in 1467 his subjects were absolved from their oath of fidelity, and many of

the grandees and cities of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, adopted the papal principles.

Previous to this the following events had taken place. In 1450 the utraquistic states held a diet at Prague, wherein it was resolved that an embassy should be sent to Constantinople, for the purpose of conferring with the Greek church, from which the Christianity of the Sclavonic nations had been originally derived. The deputies were received with great demonstrations of joy by the Greek bishops, who confirmed the Hussites in their creed, and promised to ordain their ministers;—which was indeed the chief object of the embassy.

In the year 1451, Peter Mladienowitz, and other Hussite ministers distinguished themselves by their zealous efforts to disseminate the knowledge of the gospel throughout Bohemia. But at the same time the Popish party still continued their persecutions; and three deacons were compelled to sacrifice their lives for their creed. One of them, John, was burnt at Sobieslaw; Wenzel was beheaded at Horzowitz; and Vitus, curate of Holonuz, was killed with others in the church itself, because he had administered the holy supper under both forms.

Besides these, much people of all ages and both sexes were at that time devoted to death through religious intolerance; the Pope having thought it necessary to send to Bohemia whole bands of the (so called) crusaders, warriors with the sign of the cross, who volunteered to attack the heretics. They consisted chiefly of students from Leipzig and Erfurt, where the old animosity against Prague was still retained. For several years they ravaged

Bohemia, encouraged by the advice and assistance of the Roman Catholic party; and so many towns and villages were plundered and burnt, that agriculture was suspended, and hundreds perished of famine. To murder children seemed a mere amusement to those brutal crucifixers. At one time the monsters heaped together children's heads, like so many cabbages, and played at ball with them!! But vengeance overtook them at last: they were attacked and defeated near Klattau; leaving 3000 dead on the field of battle.

In the midst of all these cruelties the Pope incessantly sent legates to Bohemia, with glittering promises to the utraquistic preachers, hoping, if possible, to seduce some of them from their faith.

In the year 1478, the utraquistic states held a diet in the Caroline hall of the old town of Prague, where they mutually engaged, under signature and seal, effectually to maintain the pure evangelic doctrine, and the canonical celebration of the holy supper under both forms: and the Pope, perceiving that he had effected nothing by violence, tried for a while what kindness would do. In 1479, therefore, he withdrew the excommunication and crusade; and agreeably to the compactates of Basle, declared the Bohemians good sons of the church, the utraquists included. But their oppression was only delayed until a more favourable time; for severity soon followed. Michael Polonus, administrator of the utraquistic consistory, and several other ministers, were imprisoned and conveyed to the dungeon of the castle of Karlstein, and afterwards to the chamber Czerwenka; there they

were put to the rack, and treated with such severity that some died.

Various royal edicts soon afterwards appeared respecting religious affairs, especially that lamentable proscription, which was effected through the influence of the council of Prague, and other opposers of the reformation among the nobility. On the 24th of Dec. 1485, the utraquists were even threatened with a night of massacre, such as was afterwards experienced by France; although in the very same year, under Wladislaw, it had been determined that the *sub una* should not despise the *sub utraque*, nor accuse them of heresy, and that under no circumstances whatever should one party disturb the other.

About this time the already mentioned Wenzel Koranda of Pilsen contended for the doctrines of Huss, as did also George of Prague, curate of the Tein church, and superior of the utraquistical consistory. In the year 1483 they also gained over the following men, whom they did not hesitate to call bishops, viz. Augustinus, who, on the 20th of October, to the great joy of the people, entered upon his episcopal office. His successor Philip did the same on the 28th of May, 1504. Then followed Paul from Saaz, provost of the great college, Wenzel from Leutomischl, minister of St. Apollinaris, and Matthew Korambus in the new town of Prague; all these were appointed without the recognition of the Pope. Their design with regard to a pure church order cannot be mistaken, but it was attended with a perpetual warfare. At that time also flourished Wenzel Rosdialowitz,

provost of the Caroline college, and Dr. John Poduska, priest of the Tein church, who held a friendly correspondence with Luther in the year 1519.

We are now arrived at the era of the Reformation; but it ought to be remembered that in Bohemia two parties had already distinguished themselves —the *utraquists* or Calixtines, by the canonical celebration of the Lord's supper—and the Bohemian brethren, by the biblical simplicity of their arrangements and their morality of life;—so that it is no wonder the work, commenced by Luther, made rapid progress in that country. Each of these parties has been mentioned; but before entering upon the details of the reformation, it appears necessary that a more explicit definition should be given, first of the *utraquists*, many of whom, provoked by the severity employed against them, joined the Lutherans—and next of the Bohemian brethren,* who partially united with the Reformed at Konigsberg, and other places.

The definite explanation of the name *utraquists* is given by themselves in their superscriptions and titles, when they say: "Who in true faith receive the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ *sub utraque* (*specie*), i. e. under both forms;" and consequently do not refuse to the laity the participation of the cup, in the persuasion that our Saviour had so intended it. It has been shewn already that Huss, and many other pious men before him, had adopted this mode of administering the sacrament,

* They could not call themselves after Huss, because the name Hussite had already been assumed by the Calixtines.

and that the church had even for a time to avoid greater evils allowed it, though unwillingly. The utraquists themselves were pleased with the name, and were satisfied with that permission. In all other respects they were Catholics. Utraquism, indeed, found its way even into several convents. They had, nevertheless, scruples with regard to the ordination of their priests, which the Roman Catholics disliked to perform.

In the year 1561, Ferdinand I. petitioned the Pope for their ordination; and we have already seen that the archiepiscopal suffragan in Lipnitz was forced to ordain several utraquists, and that it was also sought in Constantinople from the Greek clergy. We shall see afterwards how ordination was procured from the Lutherans at Wittemberg, (like the Calvinists at Zerbst); that the consistory of utraquism established in 1421 was again renewed in 1531; that from 1564 the archbishop of Prague ordained the utraquists, and that the King's charter of 1609 confirmed the rights of the utraquistical consistory, though it only existed for a short time.

The history of the other party, who were known under the name of "Bohemian brethren," is of much more importance to Christians of this day, as well on account of their honorable characteristics, as because of the church at Herrnhut, in Upper Lusatia, which was founded by their descendants, and continues to flourish to the present time, sending forth missionaries and establishing settlements in the remotest parts of the globe. But for this we refer to the extensive literature of the Brethren themselves.

The Bohemian brethren sprung out of certain

remnants of the Taborites, and some of the more prudent Calixtines. Acquainted with the doctrines of Matthias Parisiensis, Huss, Jacobellus, Rokyzan, and his nephew Gregory, initiated into a purer christianity, and raised superior to the various feuds and fanaticisms which afflicted Bohemia, when the archbishop elect, and the then dominant Calixtines became again Popish, they retired in a numerous body to the neighbourhood of Lititz, not far from the Silesian mountains, and refused to accept the *compactates* as insufficient. Their principal teachers then were Michael Bradacz, formerly minister at Zamberg, afterwards consecrated senior in 1467 by a bishop of the Waldenses; and the above mentioned Gregory, Rokyzan's nephew, of knightly rank, once a monk at Prague, but afterwards consenior of the church of the United Brethren. The Brethren, however, must not be confounded with the Waldenses. Notwithstanding their oppression from the Catholics, and even from the Calixtines, they still increased in numbers, and extorted praise from their very persecutors, for their constancy in the faith, and the purity of their morals.

Already in the year 1500, they consisted of many hundreds of communities, most of them possessing their own houses of prayer. Their adherence to the Bible, and the simple arrangements of their worship soon attracted the notice of the reformers of Wittemberg; their ecclesiastical government* being formed strictly upon the model of the primitive

* The following is found upon the title page of the German history of the Brethren, (1739): their church order "is to be a mirror to our lukewarm and low church constitutions, and communions mostly subsisting without spiritual discipline."

church, as presented in the New Testament. Their upright conduct, and their scriptural discipline, were highly esteemed by Luther, whose preface to the treatise on the adoration of the host is dedicated to the Brethren. Catholics and Calixtines being their enemies, and Rokyzan having likewise stirred up George Podiebrad against them, they were exposed to continual attacks; to which they had nothing to oppose but patience and a good conscience, and only justified themselves by publishing their confessions of faith.

By way of vilification they were called Waldenses and Picards, as appears in the title page of the Brethren's hymn books, published by John Horn, 1585,—"whom out of hatred and envy they call Picards and Waldenses."* As to their writings, those excellent men, Comenius and Lasitius, already quoted, supply full information. About the year 1500, several noble families joined them; and because the Calixtines retained the churches, they built prayer houses upon their estates, of which there were above two hundred in Bohemia and Moravia. To give some idea of the faithfulness, love, and unity, which reigned in the assemblies and resolutions of those communities, we here insert the commencement of one of their writings: "Concerning that which the Brethren have mutually agreed among themselves in the mountains of Reichenau, 1464, given forth by the seniors."

"Before all other things we have agreed among ourselves, that we will preserve to ourselves the

* The earlier church of the Brethren distinguished itself by its hymns, which have often been printed at Breslau, Ulm, and Nuremberg in 1538, 1539, 1544, 1564, &c.

faith of the Lord Jesus Christ in purity, and confirm it in righteousness which is of God, abiding together in love, and putting our trust in the living God. This we are faithfully to manifest in word and deed. One is to assist another faithfully in love, to lead a blameless life, and be exercised in humility, submission, meekness, continence, and patience, in order to prove thereby, that we have a true faith, real love, and sure hope, which is laid up for us. We have also agreed together, that we will unanimously observe a willing and perfect obedience, even as the scriptures given from God enjoin upon us. One is to receive of the other instruction, warning, exhortation, and correction in the sense of brotherly benevolence, thereby to keep the covenant which we have made with God through our Lord Jesus Christ in the spirit. We have also unanimously agreed to strengthen one another in the truth which we confess, by the grace of the Lord, according to the measure which is given to each of us, and willingly to do and undertake every thing, which shall be judged conducive to edification and improvement; but especially to observe christian obedience, to acknowledge one another in want and poverty, to be humble and in subjection, to have the fear of God always before our eyes, to improve after exhortation or correction, and acknowledge our guilt before God and man. But if one be found not to abide in all these, and refuse to keep the covenant made with God, and likewise with faithful christian brethren: we declare with sorrow, that we cannot ensure such an one of his salvation; but the result may be, that we shall withdraw from him, and be under the necessity of excluding him from our

communion in divine service. And if one be overtaken in a grievous sin, or in a decided heresy, for which he ought to be put away; we cannot readmit him, until he has entirely purged himself from it, and evidently amended his life. It has moreover been determined, that every one is to abide faithfully in his calling, and in all things to keep a good conscience, according to the apostolic injunction. The priests and teachers in particular are to set a good example, and in word and deed so to behave towards others, that punishment and reproof may be avoided," &c.

This sufficiently shews the spirit and tone which reigned among the Brethren. With regard to their theology, there is extant a confession of faith, which was delivered to Ferdinand I. on the 14th of Nov. 1535, at Vienna, "by the nobility and knighthood of the crown of Bohemia, who are addicted to, and connected with the pure doctrine, in the Christian churches, called 'the union (unity) of the Bohemian brethren.'"

It contains the following articles:* The authenticity of the holy scriptures,—the catechism,—the belief in the Trinity in unity,—concerning self-knowledge,—sin, its causes and consequences,—the promises of God,—repentance,—Christ the Lord, and justification by faith in him,—good works,—the holy christian church-order and discipline,—antichrist,—church ministers,—the word of God,—

* The exemplar of this confession at Zittau is remarkable, because from it the arrangements of the Unity of the Brethren at Herrnhut were formed by Count Zinzendorf, whose acknowledgment for its loan (written in the book itself) bears date the 6th of June, 1728.

the sacraments in general, holy baptism, the Lord's supper,—the keys of Christ,—accidental matter or church ceremonies,—secular authority,—the beloved saints and their glory,—fasting,—the married and unmarried state,—the time of grace.

The Book of Persecutions speaks much of the sufferings which they endured for the truth; the 19th chapter bearing this superscription: "*first persecution of the Brethren.*" It is there stated, that after they took refuge in Lititz, and excited the sympathy of many of the nobility and the learned, the priests stirred up the people against them, and the Hussite John Rokyzan especially spread the opinion that they went *too far*. In 1461 his nephew Gregory came to Prague and held a meeting of the Brethren; but he was betrayed, imprisoned, and almost tortured to death; eventually obtaining his release only through the intercession of his relative Rokyzan. To perform worship without Catholic ceremonies was absolutely forbidden under pain of death; and strict orders were issued, that the members of the church of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia should not be suffered to assemble together. Several recommended imprisonment, others the punishment of death; but Jodocus de Rosenberg, bishop of Breslau, gave his opinion against this,* because that martyrdom only increased the numbers of the Brethren; and he advised that they should be expelled from the country, when, not knowing where to go, they would turn again to the Romish church. Upon this many took refuge in the forests, and lived in caves and pits: hence the nickname,

* The bishop of Olmütz had many of the Brethren mutilated, quartered, burned, imprisoned, and exiled.

Grubenheimer, (pit-dwellers). In the day time they dared not kindle a fire for fear of being betrayed by the smoke; but during the night, being under no apprehension, they studied the holy scriptures by its light. That their traces might not be perceived in the snow, they all trod in the same line; the last of the party obliterating their footsteps with the branch of a tree, to give to their track the appearance of a peasant having dragged a bush behind him. Under these circumstances they taught, strengthened, and comforted each other, and exercised themselves in the pure confession of the Gospel.

Notwithstanding the distresses and persecution to which they were continually exposed, the Brethren held synods in the mountains of Bohemia, wherein they passed resolutions respecting their duty towards those in authority, and towards each other, strictly regulating all their proceedings according to the injunctions of the word of God. At one of these conventions, in 1467, they elected Matthew Kunwald, Thomas Przelaucz, and Elias Krzenow, as bishops of the Brethren. These distinguished men were afterwards consecrated by Stephen, a bishop of the Waldenses, who was burnt at Vienna in the following year. Soon afterwards more stringent laws were enacted against the "Brethren" as "Picards," by George Podiebrad; notwithstanding the apologies which were presented on their behalf, by Rokyzan and others. Many were, in consequence, apprehended, and kept in prison until the death of the King. Slanderous reports were also brought against them—they were accused of blasphemy, murder, witchcraft, &c.; but at length, the wretched man, who had been suborned to bear false

witness against them, refused any longer to perjure himself, and confessed that he knew not any of the Brethren. This last event tended to the furtherance of the Gospel; for many began privately, and in disguise to frequent the assemblies of the Brethren, and finding their deportment so contrary to the accusations brought against them, they were constrained to associate with this calumniated and persecuted sect, as with true Christians. Among these were several of the nobles of Bohemia and Moravia, who built churches and houses of prayer in various districts. Thus the spark, which was well nigh extinguished, broke forth into a flame, and enlightened the whole country. So was fulfilled the prophecy of Matthias Parisiensis, "that an ignoble people should arise, without sword or outward power, over whom the enemies of truth should never prevail."

In 1488, Matthias, King of Hungary, expelled the Brethren from his dominions. They took refuge in Moldavia; but returned again on the death of that monarch, having secured the protection of Wladislaw of Bohemia, who had obtained the crown of Hungary.

Five years afterwards another persecution was raised against the Brethren in consequence of false accusations, which were believed by the King. But the Brethren, when they heard of it, sent to him a confession of their faith, and a refutation of the crimes laid to their charge. This occasioned the King to mitigate the severity of his previous edict, and to appoint a disputation between the University and deputies from the Brethren; but it did not take place, in consequence of their principal enemy,

Martin Poczalek, dying suddenly in the morning of that day which had been fixed for the conference.

The Roman Catholic bishops, however, succeeded, by flattery, in obtaining from Wladislaw several severe decrees against the Brethren; especially one dated Aug. 10, 1508, wherein he commanded that "all Picardines, without distinction either of sex or age, should be punished with the loss of life." But the principal nobility opposed this bloody edict, and its execution was delayed until 1510, when through the artifices of the Chancellor Albert, it received the full assent of the states of Bohemia. But the sharp sword of persecution was blunted in a remarkable manner by the judgments of God, which fell on the chief contrivers and promoters of this cruel decree.* Yet many of the Brethren were its victims;†—and their enemies so far prevailed that divine service could only be performed in secret, and in the district of Baron Schwamberg.

* The Chancellor Albert, returning from the diet where the above decree had been ratified, paid a visit to the Baron of Coldicium, and reported to him what they had all agreed upon. The baron asked his servant Simon, (one of the Brethren) that stood by him, how he liked it. He answered, "*All* have not agreed to it." The Chancellor demanded who they were that durst oppose all the states of the kingdom. The servant, lifting up his hand, replied, "In heaven there is One, who, if he were not present at your counsels, you have taken counsel in vain." The Chancellor exclaimed, "Knave, thou shalt find that, as well as the rest;"—and full of fury, he rose up, to proceed on his journey. But in that moment he was attacked by a disease which no art could cure—and he died miserably in a few days.—Eccles. Boh. Persecut. 87.

† On these persecutions see Regenvolscius (Wengersky) 166 seq. 179, 182, abounding with numerous examples of imprisonments, tortures to death by mutilation, fire, and water.

During this period, when the Brethren suffered almost without intermission, the Calixtines were not exempt from the cross, especially those who were inclined to declaim against the Papacy.

On the 21st of August, 1480, Michael Pollack, curate of St. Giles, in the old town of Prague, a man of irreproachable character, and distinguished for his eloquence, with three other curates, were seized, because they had called the Pope antichrist, and conveyed to the castle of Karlstein, where the first perished of hunger and the miseries of the prison, but the rest, with great difficulty, were set at liberty through the intercession of the states. Others were banished, and many fled; among the latter were Lucas of Prague, a distinguished man, who afterwards became bishop of the United Brethren, and his friend, the natural philosopher, John Nix, (Snow). The King, in the same year, also prohibited the singing of certain hymns, in which Popish rites were censured. But as many, even of the most respectable citizens, disregarded the interdict, he committed some of them to prison for life, and others he tortured to death.

The monks were now bold, and raged exceedingly against the utraquists, 'condemning the Hussites to hell.' The loud murmurings of the people against these proceedings had no effect. Also the Catholic senators of Prague, depending on the forbearance of the King, went so far in their audacity, as to conspire with the nobility, who were opposed to all religious improvement, to murder the most respectable utraquistic citizens in the night of the 24th of September, 1483. Their hope and expectations, however, were not accomplished; for the pro-

vidence of God so directed it, that the intended destruction fell upon the heads of its authors. The plot was discovered, and occasioned a great uproar among the people, in which three public halls, and all the convents were plundered, and several senators and monks were killed. Wladislaw was indignant on receiving this news; but when he had examined into the matter, he pardoned the inhabitants of Prague, for he saw that the Papists had given occasion for the tumult.

In the public diet of the year 1485, the King ordered the treaty to be confirmed between the parties *sub una*, and *sub utraque*, who promised mutual toleration and friendship; though in reality mutual hatred and insult did not cease.

On the 28th of Jan. 1491, when in the Tein church, the Lord's supper was administered under both forms, a German, placing himself behind a lady, struck her head with so much force against the cup, as she was drinking, that it cut her mouth, and the blood flowed out. He was certainly apprehended and imprisoned for that offence, but he was soon afterwards liberated.

As the archiepiscopal chair of Prague remained vacant, the Calixtines could procure no other clergy but such as were ordained in Italy. But as those who were ordained there were forced to renounce the compactates, and promise implicit obedience to the Pope, it did not suit the Bohemians. For this cause, in 1482, (as is supposed from love of a purer religion) came the Italian bishop of Sanctura, Augustin Lucian, who was received with joy and great honour. After his death in 1493, he was succeeded by the bishop of Sidonia and Modena,

who, during three years, also conferred ordination upon the Calixtine priests;—from which time the great majority of the Hussites again yielded themselves to the Pope and his bishops.

But such was the aversion of many to the Romish church, that they sent some of their ministers to Armenia, with letters of recommendation from the university of Prague. As the report of the Bohemian heresy had already reached that country, they were closely examined; and being found to agree with the Armenians in the main points, especially the usage of the vulgar tongue in the church service, they were ordained on the 18th of Oct. 1499. Of these were Martin from Tabor, and his deacon, who were afterwards burnt by the Catholics at Raudnitz.

Respecting the Bohemian brethren, we certainly agree with the sentiment of a modern church historian, who thus speaks of them: "The Unitas Fratrum must always be remarkable as a nurse of christian *truth* and *piety*, in times struggling to escape from the barbarity of the middle ages,—as a preserver of pure *morals*, such as the reformers of the 16th century were not able to give to their churches,—as the mother of the esteemed and widely spread church of the United Brethren, whose constitution is formed upon that ancient model."

Luther's opinion of them is also exceedingly favourable, as expressed in his preface to their confession. He regrets, that as a Catholic he was once greatly prejudiced against them; but he acknowledges, that afterwards he became convinced that they had raised themselves above the doctrines of men, and that they had an excellent knowledge of the word of God.

CHAPTER II.

1517 TO 1564.

TIMES OF LUTHER.—SUFFERINGS OF THE BOHEMIAN PROTESTANTS UNDER FERDINAND I.—CONCESSION OF THE CUP TO THE CALIXTINES.

WHEN Luther appeared, his labours excited more attention and hope in Bohemia, than in almost any other country. For nowhere else had the necessity of purifying the doctrine and reforming the discipline of the church been so deeply considered. There also may advantages had been gained. Hence the lovers of truth welcomed Luther as a successful continuator of the interrupted work of their martyred countryman Huss; and many among the Bohemian brethren and the *utraquists* preferred the ordination of the reformers at Wittemberg to that of the Catholics. Some, however, were of a contrary opinion. On the other hand, the enemies of Luther reproached him by declaring that his theses savoured of "Bohemia," and in the famous disputation of Leipzig, he was accused of having adopted the views of Huss.

Lutheran principles were promulgated at Prague as early as the year 1519. Matthias, a hermit, arriving there as a pilgrim, publicly preached the doctrines of the reformation in connection with certain opinions of his own; he gained over a considerable party, but repeated imprisonments were the result.

Mention is also made of a certain monk of Zwickau, who, in 1521, preached and administered

the communion according to Lutheran principles at Prague and Saaz. This monk, it appears, was none other than Thomas Münzer, who afterwards became so notorious in Germany. Several other promoters of Luther's views appeared publicly at Prague, Sobieslaw, and elsewhere, especially in the first of these places, where two young Augustine friars preached in the Kleinseite of that city on Whitsuntide, 1533. Their discourses in German made a powerful impression; Gallus Zahera also, curate of the Tein-church of Prague, who had been appointed administrator of the utraquistical consistory at the diet of 1524, held Lutheran principles, and publicly praised the reformer of Wittemberg, who had for a short time been his tutor. It was at his request that Luther wrote his work upon priestly consecration, and sent it to Bohemia. Count Stephen von Schlik, also received a synodal writing from Wittemberg, encouraging the Bohemian states to persevere in the principles of the reformation.

Soon afterwards D. Burian Sobek of Kornik, chancellor of the old town of Prague, who was in confidential correspondence with Luther himself, stood forth as a public promoter of the doctrines of the reformer.

The opposition of the council of Prague, and especially of the clerical authorities, did not lessen the estimation in which Luther was held. Yet the reformer shews in a letter to Zahera, in 1524, that he was not perfectly satisfied with him. Neither were the utraquists quite satisfied with the work of Luther. Indeed men's minds were variously agitated regarding him: while Duke Charles of Mun-

sterberg had it in contemplation to sweep the Lutherans from the country altogether.

Nevertheless, many persons entered into correspondence with Luther, and encouraged him in his work; especially Wenceslaus Rozdialow, provost of the Caroline college, and Dr. John Paduska, priest of the Tein-church at Prague, whose intercourse with the reformer, according to the account of Jacobeus, commenced as early as the year 1519.

Among other young Bohemians who desired to receive instruction from the powerful mind of Luther, was the celebrated John Augusta, afterwards bishop of the United Brethren, (who always continued in connexion with Wittemberg, and whom Luther designated as an apostle of the Sclavonians), Erinesius, Theobald, and other men of note. Luther himself rejoiced on receiving visits from such men, though many subsequently paid for their attachment to him with their lives.

To prevent the further spread of Luther's doctrines in Bohemia, the Emperor Ferdinand I. commanded, under pain of heavy penalties, that all his subjects should return from Wittemberg. Yet many at home had obtained possession of the German reformer's writings, which were frequently imported from Nuremberg; and he who possessed a Bible thought himself happy in that he was able to discern with his own eyes the pure water of life at the source itself; but of this they were deprived in 1628, when the "book-execution" destroyed so many copies of the sacred scriptures. Though it cannot now be ascertained at what precise periods the reformation found access to many of the cities of Bohemia, yet there is evidence

of its admission to Kadan, (in the north-western part of the country,) the environs of Eger and Ellbogen in the district of Bunzlau, and other parts, as early as the year 1524.

But here and there the principles of Calvin also found entrance, not only to the great vexation of the Roman Catholics, but even to the mortification of the Lutheran theologians of the time, who were little less favourable to the Calvinists than they were to the Papists. The date of the introduction of the Protestant worship into the Bohemian cities, is not so well known as in other countries, especially Germany, where the history of the reformation had so many investigators.

It was natural that the papistical power should soon stand opposed to the beginnings of the Lutheran reformation, when the nobles and bishops did everything to crush it;—though possibly much of this opposition arose from a desire to prevent a return of the Hussite wars and new bloodshed.

Ferdinand I., who reigned over Bohemia from 1526 to 1564, and who, in other respects, was honourable as a man and a ruler, almost continually persecuted his Protestant subjects, being extremely rigorous against them in Austria, as well as in Bohemia.

It will, nevertheless, be acknowledged, that sometimes, especially after the diets of 1530 and 1542, he treated them with less severity. But the great Turkish wars in which he was engaged must be considered as the true cause of his attention being then diverted from persecution. He did, indeed, at one time, solicit the Pope for a grant of the cup, but his object in this was merely to preserve peace,

and to prevent a further defection from the papacy. At other times he even prohibited the use of the cup. Thus, for example, an order, dated Vienna, Dec. 23rd, 1538, was issued by him to the council of Zittau, at that time belonging to Bohemia, that the priests should administer the sacrament under one form only; for, according to the position which he held, he could not consistently pass unnoticed that which was considered a Lutheran innovation; and he foolishly imagined that by combating the obstinacy of the Protestants, he should be able to enforce unity in church affairs.

The condition of the Brethren, during the reign of Ferdinand, was very trying. The Hussites, as a body, were indeed hated because they refused implicit obedience to the Pope, but the "Brethren," because they altogether rejected him, were utterly detested. The Papists only pretended a willingness to keep to the 'compactates,' because thereby they reckoned upon gaining over the Calixtines to aid them in suppressing the Brethren. They were, therefore, careful to maintain the edict of Wladislaw, and lost no opportunity that suggested itself of troubling them.

This induced the Brethren, after suffering much throughout the whole kingdom, to send, in 1535, another and more copious apology,* or confession of faith (subscribed by twelve barons, and thirty-three knights) to Ferdinand at Vienna, by the hands of baron William Krzinezky, and Dr. Henry Do-

* The Elector of Saxony, John Frederick, praised it much. In 1536, Augusta and Sommerfeld went with it to Luther, who, with Jonas, Bugenhagen, Melancthon, and Cruciger, highly approved of it.

mausitz. This was accompanied by a memorial declaring how unjustly they were accused of Picarditish errors, and setting forth how certain of the clergy thirsted for their blood, and cried out: "Picards ought not to remain unpunished,—it is less sinful to slaughter them than to kill a dog." Against all these grievous injuries, they implore the justice of God, and the pity and protection of the King.

Ferdinand did not like their stubborn perseverance, but alleging want of time to examine their apologies with the requisite carefulness, he promised, in the meanwhile, that nothing contrary to either law or equity should be enacted against them.

Pending this inquiry, though the Brethren were very much oppressed at home, they were encouraged from abroad, often interchanging letters with Luther, Capito, Bucer, and others; and in defiance of their enemies, God added greatly to their church, until 1547, that year of suffering to all the evangelical churches throughout Germany. For the Emperor Charles V., attempting to bring into effect the decrees of the council of Trent, had already consulted with his brother Ferdinand and the Pope, and opened a crusade against the Protestant princes of Germany. Ferdinand, therefore, solicited auxiliary troops from the Bohemians. But one and all excused themselves, both states and free towns, on the ground of their ancient confederacy with the house of Saxony, and of their common faith,—for most of the Hussitish Calixtines inclined to the Lutherans.*

* John Frederick of Saxony urgently desired that Bohemia should not assist Ferdinand against him, and indicated to his co-religionists there, that he was persecuted by Ferdinand solely on account of the gospel and the communion under both forms.

When Ferdinand had, in 1547, overcome the Protestants in Germany, he entered Bohemia with an army, and seized the city of Prague. He then convened the "bloody diet," and ordered the principal barons, nobles, and citizens to be imprisoned; some he scourged, others he beheaded; on some he levied a heavy fine, others he despoiled of their estates for ever. Prague he deprived of its arsenal, and all its privileges; while many of the inhabitants were banished, and more went into voluntary exile.

In the midst of all these sufferings, which the Brethren endured in common with the rest of the Bohemians, they were pointed at as the authors of the misery which had befallen the country; and every effort was made to draw upon them the hatred of the King. Ferdinand believed these calumnies; and in the first place commanded the churches of the Brethren to be closed (under seal). Next he banished from his dominions all who professed their doctrines, unless they would connect themselves either with the Catholics or the utraquists. This mandate fell upon them like a thunderbolt;—yet it only combined them together to be the more faithful to God and their own consciences. After a general consultation, they resolved to emigrate to Poland in three divisions. The first, gathered out of the parts of Leitomischl, Bidschow, and Chlumez, amounting to five hundred souls, passed with above sixty waggons through the country of Glatz and Upper Silesia. The second was formed of those from Turnau and Brandeis, consisting of three hundred souls, and proceeded by the way of Lower Silesia. The third division, comprising the residue

from Brandeis, took the same road. On the journey they were delivered in a remarkable manner, by the providence of God, from several bands of robbers; and in most places they experienced much Christian sympathy and kindness, even in Poland also, though at that time entirely papal. They all met together at Posen, and were entertained kindly and hospitably, until an order was received from the King for their expulsion. When that arrived, they were compelled to proceed, in order to reach the confines of Prussia, having sent a deputation before them to Duke Albert of Brandenburgh, requesting permission to settle there. At Königsberg they were examined by Lutheran theologians, who acknowledged them as brethren; and Soldau, Gwidzin, and other towns, were assigned them for their residence. Paul Spretten,* Bishop of Posen, shewed them many tokens of humanity and Christian love, having several years previously, in passing through Bohemia on a visit to Leitomischl, become acquainted with the ritual and doctrine of the Brethren. He congratulated them on their arrival in Prussia, and commended them with much kindness to the Prince.

By a third edict of Ferdinand against the Brethren, the imprisonment of their clergy was enjoined. This forced them to quit the country, and several went to Moravia,† where they enjoyed, not

* Paul Spretten, a pupil of Luther, and reformer of Iglau, taught also at Augsburg, Salzburg, Würzburg, and Vienna. He was once saved from the funeral pile, by the intercession of several utraquists, and finally became Bishop of Posen. He died in 1554, and is the author of the hymn, "Salvation has come to us." See Bucholz, iv. 461, seq.

† Hence the name of *Moravian* Brethren.

only peace during those disquietudes, but Esrom Rudiger, the learned son-in-law of Camerarius, even established a university at Eybenschütz, near Brünn. Other clergymen, however, concealed themselves that they might not entirely abandon their hearers; and during the night, emerging from their secret retreats, visited the faithful, and when occasion served, celebrated the sacraments in private houses. Thus it continued for several years.

Two of them, the senior John Augusta,* and his colleague Jacob Bilek, fell into the hands of their enemies. The imprisonment of the former caused as much joy to his enemies, as the Philistines experienced when they had bound Samson; for he was a celebrated man throughout the realm, not only as chief senior of the Brethren, but also on account of his disputations with the Calixtines, whom he as signally vanquished in Bohemia, both by speech and by writing, as Luther in Germany had confounded the Papists. He had, in his youth, attended the Reformer's lectures, and afterwards kept up a correspondence with him. For this reason his adversaries ascribed the cause of the refractoriness of the Bohemian states against Ferdinand to Augusta alone; as if by him and his party a plan had

* John Augusta, Bishop of the Brethren, was born in 1500, and died at Jungbunslaw in 1572. He was a pupil of Koranda, Luther and Melancthon; first, utraquist, then Bishop of the Brethren, residing at Leitomischl. His imprisonment in the castle of Bürglitz, to which he was removed from Prague, was very severe. During the first two years, he was not permitted to speak, neither was he allowed writing materials; very little water was given to him, and he was frequently beaten. But in 1560 Ladislaw Sternberg obtained possession of the castle, and Augusta gained more liberty.

been cunningly devised of placing John Frederick of Saxony upon the Bohemian throne; which, indeed, would really have taken place, had the Emperor been defeated in the war. To prevent the consequences of this alleged conspiracy, Augusta was invited to a conference by a false friend, under the pretence of taking measures to remove the calumnies which had been cast upon his character, when he was immediately made prisoner, as already stated, and carried to Prague, where he, with his colleague Jacob Bilek, was thrice horridly tortured, in the presence of the Imperial Commissioners, who were appointed to examine him. But though there was no crime, nor any trace of crime discovered, he was kept seventeen years in prison, and was not liberated until the death of Ferdinand in the year 1564.

George Israel, pastor of the church of Turnau, also shared in the sufferings of his brethren, and was imprisoned, but he made his escape. He might altogether have avoided imprisonment if he had chosen; for when summoned by the chief burgrave, under a penalty of one hundred ducats, to appear at the castle of Prague, his community tried to dissuade him from surrendering himself, and proposed to pay the penalty. But he declined this, and thanking them, said, "It is sufficient to be once completely bought by the blood of Christ, and there is no need of my being again bought by the gold of man." He advised that they should reserve the money for the payment of expenses that would arise in his expected banishment, and that they should pray the Lord to enable him with patience to endure all things for the name of

Christ. At the time appointed he appeared before the authorities, acknowledged his connection with his church, and on the 30th of May, 1548, he was cast into the same prison, from which a short time before John Augusta and Jacob Bilek had been removed to another. After a few weeks' confinement, perceiving a possible mode of escape, he wrote to the senior of the Brethren, explaining his situation and asking advice. Upon receiving an answer, he, on the 23rd of July, quitted his prison, leaving behind him a letter to the burgrave, with a copy of the confession of faith of the Brethren of the year 1535. He passed through the guards at mid-day, habited as a clerk, with a pen behind his ear, paper and ink bottle in his hand, and soon followed those of his brethren who, exiled from their country, had gone before him into Prussia.* By the providence of God he became afterwards the Apostle of the Poles. For as he travelled occasionally from Prussia into Moravia, (where the ministers exiled from Bohemia abode secretly) and passed through Great Poland, he preached the Gospel in sundry places, where it was practicable, with such good result, that he gained over many of the nobility, among them several Palatines and Castellans, and in a short time established about twenty congregations in that country. This was the origin of the Polish churches, which continue to have their ritual according to the Bohemian confession.

When it became evident that the Brethren had not been guilty of a conspiracy, but that the states

* Lochner, Life of George Israel, pp. 59, 60.

of Bohemia had merely acted conformably to their ancient alliance with Saxony, and their modern love for Protestants, Ferdinand prepared to persecute the Lutherans also. Convoking a diet of the states in 1549, he ordered the compactates to be confirmed, and published a decree that no other sects, (meaning the Brethren and the Lutherans) should be tolerated. The effect of this was, that the Calixtines as well as the Catholics were encouraged, with still greater license, to persecute the Evangelicals; and to such a height was their hatred, calumny, and injustice carried, that all the clergymen who had been ordained in Germany, and were married, amounting to above two hundred,* were by degrees deposed, both in large and small towns, and then banished by order of the King. To those dispersed in Misnia, (especially in Leipzig, and at Wittemberg, where some studied medicine) and in the Palatinate, Melancthon addressed a very consolatory epistle.

The King, when any occasion presented itself, failed not to exile or imprison such of the nobles as had embraced the evangelic doctrines. One of these was John Prostiborsky, Baron of Schanow, who, though not a wealthy man, was distinguished for his erudition and experience. Suspected of intrigues against Ferdinand, and of maintaining

* See Thuanus, xii. 253. Status modernus eccles. Bohem. (Vit. 1632) p. 4, where the exiled clergymen (orbis fabula) are estimated to have amounted to 300. Rabi, book of martyrs, 771. In 1564, after the death of Ferdinand, some returned and were allowed to resume their offices. Several studied medicine in the mean time in foreign countries, and settled afterwards in Bohemia as physicians.

intelligence with the Saxons, he underwent several examinations, and at last was subjected to the rack; but in the midst of his tortures, with heroic indignation, he bit off his tongue. When taken from the rack, and asked the cause of his conduct, he answered in writing as follows: "If I tell the truth according to my conscience, you will not believe me; and that I may not be induced by pain to declare what is false against myself or others, I have disabled myself from speaking at all." He afterwards, in a letter, reproached the King and all his counsellors with their cruel proceedings against him and other innocent men, and concluded by citing them before the tribunal of God. The King sent a physician to cure him of the consequences of the tortures; but he died soon after in the prison.

It was under Ferdinand I. that those lamentable events took place, in which Zahera, the administrator of the utraquistical consistory, was a principal instrument, and whereby the Brethren especially suffered so severely. And here, alas! we shall perceive a non-Catholic oppressing those whom he ought to have cherished as brethren in the Lord, and opposing that faith which he once professed, and ought ever to have maintained.

The occurrences referred to throw great light upon the history of those times; but to understand them aright, it will be necessary to revert to their origin. This was, in the first place, the desire of some of the awakened Calixtines to obtain ordination for their ministers at Wittemberg, rather than from the Romish church. But so many and so great were the obstacles in their way, that it was as though an evil spirit opposed them. Afterwards

Paul Speratus,* with other Hussite clergymen, and several tutors of the academy, submitted to the states of Bohemia and Moravia, who were assembled at Prague in 1523, twenty preliminary articles of reformation, among which are the following: "Any one willing to preach the gospel without human additions, is neither to be censured nor accused of heresy;—mercenary masses, which merely minister to avarice, are to be abolished;—the elevation of the host is to be omitted by degrees;—the consecration of plants, and the like superstitious usages to cease," &c.

But they were opposed by Gallus Zahera, curate of the Tein-church in old Prague, and administrator of the sub-utraque or Calixtine consistory. He had dwelt some time at Wittemberg, and was well known to Luther, whom he publicly praised as a distinguished instrument of God. It was at his request also that the Reformer wrote his work on the ordination of ministers; and on his return home he had even brought Lutheran books with him to Prague. Hence people looked to him for an improvement in church order; but that hope was of short duration. For soon after, in order to avoid giving offence to King Lewis,† he again changed his principles, and resumed the intolerant Calixtine character; and in a diet, held in July of the same year, he published certain articles, which were quite contrary to the preceding, and

* He was afterwards burned at Olmütz, by command of the bishop.

† Lewis, son of Wladislaw, "the child," arrived in Prague in 1522, and died 1526, in the war against the Turks. In 1524 he supported the Catholics alone, tolerating neither the Brethren nor the Lutherans.

urged the restoration of the compactates. To please the King and the Papists, he even commenced a furious persecution against the orthodox party, on the following occasion. The Pope perceiving the extent to which the reformation might be carried in Bohemia as well as in Germany, sent to King Lewis a legate (Burgi), who, on his arrival at Prague, wrote to the consistory, and to various influential men, among others to Zahera, insinuating with much flattery the idea of a union of the churches. In the meantime, John Passek of Wrat, an ambitious, deceitful, superstitious, and cruel man, was made burgomaster of Prague. His party, becoming predominant, was joined by Zahera, who addressed a letter to the legate in the name of the consistory, in which his change of opinion could not be mistaken. "For," said he, "we desire nothing more anxiously, as always heretofore, so now, than that we may constantly be found in unity of faith, and obedience to the Apostolic chair. You could not, reverend father, look for any thing more desirable. For Bohemia does in reality stay itself upon that firmest of all foundations, the Catholic faith. Like an immoveable rock it has hitherto resisted and broken all the floods of errors with which the neighbouring parts of Germany have been overwhelmed. We therefore hope, reverend father, that the matter concerning which your reverence has written to us, shall be so promoted, that that divine building, sustained on a most solid basis, shall be preserved from ruin. Do not, reverend father, be offended at a little delay till our messengers reach you. Then shall the walls of Jerusalem be established, and our feet stand securely in

its courts; we shall behold the God of gods in Zion, and proceed from strength to strength."

When Zahera was asked, how he dared to oppose principles which only a short time previously he approved of in all seriousness? he replied: "The only reason why I went to Luther was, that I might know him and the Picards the better, and thus be more able to oppose them." A true aspirant for "apostolical succession" from the treacherous Judas, who betrayed the Son of man with a kiss!

To please the King and the Pope, Zahera and Passek constrained the clergy and citizens to subscribe their new articles. Whoever refused was driven from the city. This was the lot, in the first place, of six clergymen, Wenceslaus Poczatek, pastor of St. Gallus, George Smakal of St. Henry, Martin of the Bethlehem church, Paul of St. Michael, Martin of the church of Opatawitz,* and John Mirussa; then of sixty-five of the principal citizens, among whom were Burjan of Kornitz, doctor of law and chancellor of Prague, and John Hlawsa, the former burgomaster and rival of Passek, who succeeded him. From the account of Barsos of Prague, it appears that Hlawsa's party was not unfavourably disposed towards Luther, but undecided between the compactates and the new dogmas; while on the other hand, Passek joined the party *sub una*. Pretexts were now sought for greater severity, and it was slanderously noised abroad that the evangelicals had conspired against the Calixtines. In order to extort a confession of this, three citizens were put to the rack, John

* This church, to which belonged the wealthy convent of Opatawitz in Prague, is now Lutheran.

Bonussa, Matthias Hrzebenarz, and John Sliwka. But they determined rather to suffer innocently than to bear false witness against their own conscience.

In the meantime those firebrands of persecution procured an agreement among the Pragensians, that no one of suspected faith (i. e. either Picards or Lutherans) should be admitted into the workshops of the mechanics, or to citizenship; and then sent deputies to Buda, who obtained from the King a confirmation of their compact: so that every kind of outrage might now be perpetrated with impunity against all who were not of the Calixtine or the Romish faith. And, indeed, if any one was unwilling to pay his creditor, he needed only to accuse him of Picardism, and all was settled; for he was immediately banished.

Some were not only proscribed, but sent away in disgrace. Thus it happened with Lewis Pictor (Mahler), because he had told a monk, at the end of his sermon concerning St. Barbara, that he had preached nonsense, and that it would have been far better to have instructed the people out of the Gospel than to have amused them with such trifling fables. The clamour of the monk brought the people together, and Pictor, being seized, was thrown into prison, and afterwards ejected from the city by a tipstaff.

A cutler, in whose possession had been found a little book upon the sacraments, composed by a professor of the reformed doctrine, was scourged in the public market, and then banished. John Kalenetz was punished in a similar manner, with the addition of being branded in the forehead; he had

been accused of administering the sacrament to himself and his family, though a layman:—and George Lopatsky, because he had returned from banishment—under an impression that the King disapproved of these proceedings, and had published an amnesty to the exiles—was thrown into a dungeon and there murdered.

In the mean time a diet was held, wherein it was resolved, at the instigation of Zahera and his party, that those who celebrated the communion *sub una*, and those who celebrated it *sub utraque*, should be considered as one body, according to the compactates, and that the edicts of Wladislaw against the Picards should be enforced. This brought a new persecution upon the Brethren; their churches being closed in several places, and divine service prohibited.

But one faithful witness still lifted up his voice in defence of the truth, and fearlessly denounced the errors of the time. This was the before mentioned hermit Matthias, a man of unassuming manners, and irreproachable conduct. He came to Prague in 1519, and had hitherto been in the habit of exhorting the people, who flocked to hear him, in the streets and in the market-places, to repentance and the fear of God. This the clergy had striven in vain to prevent. But he now incurred the hatred and experienced the power of the administrator Zahera, whom he had admonished for his apostacy and evil doings: he had also reminded him that men are only to be brought to the faith of Christ by the scriptures, and not by imprisonment, scourging, or the rack. Zahera invited him to a conference—and on his appearance, immediately delivered him up

to the sheriff, by whom he was detained in prison,* for a considerable period, and then banished from the city.

But still more cruel was the fate of Nicolas Wrzetenarz, an aged and learned man, accused of Picardism. Being cited before the Senate, he was questioned by Zahera as to what he believed regarding the sacrament of the altar? He replied: "That which the evangelists and St. Paul teach me to believe." The administrator asked further: "Do you believe that Christ is really present in his flesh and blood?" The other answered: "I believe, that when a faithful minister of the divine word announces to a believing congregation the benefits gained through the death of Christ, then the bread and wine become the supper of the Lord, in which the people partake of the body and blood of Christ, and the blessings wrought out by his death." Enough! After a few questions and answers regarding the mass, the intercession of the saints, &c. they condemned him to the flames as a heretic, together with his housekeeper Clara, a widow, sixty years of age. She had been taught the same faith as her master, and resolved not to deny it. They were both led out to the place of execution. When they were commanded to pray towards the east before an image of the crucifixion, erected in that direction, they resolutely refused, saying, "The law of God forbids any image to be worshipped, either in heaven or upon earth. We will only worship the living God, the Lord of heaven and earth, who is alike in the south, west,

* Many excellent and pious letters of this man, dated from his prison, are still extant.

north, and east." They then turned their backs to the image of the cross, fell down with their faces to the west, lifted up their eyes and hands towards heaven, and called fervently upon the Lord Jesus Christ. Having taken leave of their children, Nicolas mounted the funeral pile with cheerfulness, pronouncing the articles of the creed. He then looked steadfastly up to heaven, and said aloud: "Lord Jesus Christ, son of the living God, born of a pure virgin, who hast vouchsafed to die upon the cross, even for me a vile sinner, thee alone I adore, to thee I commend my soul! Have mercy upon me and pardon my sins!" Then he recited in Latin the psalm: "In thee have I put my trust." In the mean time the executioner had brought Clara to the stake. He tied them both down, and casting upon them the books which had been found in their house, set fire to the pile.

In the following year they burned Martha of Porzicz, a woman of an heroical spirit. During her examination, both by the academical teachers, and the town magistrates, she gave an animated account of her faith, and reproached with folly those Hussites who were inclined to flatter the Pope. When the administrator admonished her that she should prepare herself for her robe of fire, she replied: "My cloak and my veil are ready, let me be led thither, as soon as you please!" When the crier announced that she had reviled the sacraments, she replied: "O no! but I am condemned, because I am unwilling to confess, according to the will of the priests, that Christ is present in the sacrament, in his bones, hair, sinews, and nerves." She then called to the people with a loud voice: "O, do not

believe these priests! They are lying hypocrites, servants of the belly, inordinate, adulterers, and sodomites." She was then led forward to pray before the image of the cross. But she turned her back to it, lifted up her eyes towards heaven and cried: "Thither, where our God is, must I look." After this she quickly mounted the funeral pile, and endured the burning with the greatest fortitude.

The enemies of true religion were not yet satisfied with the blood they had shed, and soon afterwards two German mechanics were accused of Lutheranism, and condemned to be burnt at Prague. During the procession to the place of execution, they conversed out of the Scriptures with such devout feeling, that some were affected even to tears. Being bound to the stake, they exceedingly encouraged each other. "Since Jesus," said one, "has suffered so much for us, we will endure this death; yea, and even rejoice, that grace has been given us to suffer for the law of God." "On my wedding-day," replied the other, "I did not feel so happy as I do now." When fire was put to the pile, they prayed with a loud voice, "Lord Jesus Christ, in thine agony thou didst pray for thine enemies. Thus we pray: forgive the King, the people of Prague, and the clergy, for they know not what they do. Their hands are full of blood." Then turning to the people, they said, "O, dear friends, pray for your King, that God may grant him the knowledge of the truth; for the bishops and clergy mislead him." At the conclusion of this exhortation they peacefully expired.

But now the waves of persecution, which had gone

over the heads of the faithful, began to subside, for the righteous judgments of God were quickly displayed against those who had first raised the storm. One of the most cruel and bloodthirsty, who, under pretence of religion, disgraced humanity, was Duchoslaw, a citizen of Prague, and a zealous dependent on Zahera; he so furiously hated the orthodox party, that he cherished the desire of being able with his own hands to hang, behead, or burn all the Picards together. But while he nourished these savage thoughts in his heart, he became involved in debt, and God gave him up to despair:—he hanged himself in his own house. His relatives buried him secretly, near a certain village; but the peasants, when they were made acquainted with the fact, dug up and threw away the carcase, which was then, by command of the council, delivered to the executioner to be burnt. Zahera himself, who, under the pretence of inquisition against the Picards, also stirred up political broils, was banished by a mandate of King Ferdinand, on the 9th of August, 1529. He retired to Misnia; but when his character was reported to the Prince, he was again banished, and ended his life miserably in Franconia. His fellow inquisitor, the cruel burgomaster Passek, was sentenced to perpetual exile about the same time, after he had in vain thrown himself at the feet of the King for mercy.

This was also a period of joy to those Lutheran citizens who had previously been exiled from Prague, by Zahera and the council. In 1525, they laid their complaints before the diet, but without any beneficial result, until Ferdinand ascended the throne. He changed the council of Prague, and

granted the exiles safe-conduct, and liberty to return and dwell where they desired, either in or out of Prague. The year 1530, was for them a time of complete restitution. Yet the Evangelical states were nevertheless kept in continual and grievous suspense, since their injury was always sought, either by force or subtlety.

It must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that whenever Ferdinand made attempts for the union of the different religious parties, he really meant that a union should take place. This was especially the case, when at Prague, in December 1549, having, as his adviser, Bishop Prosper of Chiemsee, the Papal Nuncio, he convened the states and the clergy, and earnestly sought to bring about a union between the Utraquists and the Catholics. With this intention, he proposed to the Utraquists certain conditions, by which they were to confess that the Sacrament under each form, consequently also *sub una*, is received *entire;* that it was not a divine commandment that it should be received under both forms; and that in everything else they should yield implicit obedience to the Pope. They were to reject as an error the sufficiency of confession once a year, and the admission of children to the communion, &c., and no longer to celebrate the memorial day of Huss. John Mystopul, principal of the utraquistical consistory, preacher at Bethlehem Chapel, and dean of St. Apollinarius, whom the Emperor had brought over to his views, agreed to the conditions, with many others; but those, who in their hearts were favourable to Luther, vehemently opposed any union, especially the Kuttenberger dean Wenzel. When the Emperor perceived

the disagreement, he delayed the matter until a more favourable opportunity.

Severe measures were, however, adopted against the sect of the Picards, or United Brethren, who formed an especially important medium, by which the alliance of a portion of the Utraquists with German Protestantism might be effected. Their doctrines in one point certainly appeared to deviate materially from the Lutheran, inasmuch as they believed love and hope to be equally essential to justification as faith; but this did not seem to prevent their cordial agreement; and serves also to shew the characteristic features of the separation. In the main points, viz. their rejection of the consecration and adoration of the host, and in the ceremonial character of the ecclesiastical life, they stood upon the same ground with German Protestantism; while in their external order, they presented a perfect picture of the primitive church. They called the words, "power of the keys," and "the sacrament," *ministerialia* (the implements of Christianity), which are necessary, not on account of any peculiar power residing in those who have the administration of them, but because of the benefits derived to the church by their proper exercise. For those "instrumental things," notwithstanding the simplicity of their little communities, unsupported as the Brethren also were by authority, wealth, and science, appear to have preserved among them the stability of a church well regulated in regard to outward discipline, which Luther, and the other leaders of the German Reformation, so grievously neglected.

As early as the year 1532, these Bohemian Brethren, by advice of their protector, Krager of

Kragirz, at Jungbunzlau, had presented a written statement of their doctrines to the Margrave George. That confession was soon after printed at Wittemberg, with a recommendatory preface by Luther, who had previously declared that he found them nearer to evangelical purity than all others. In the mean time their intercourse with the German Reformers increased. Their senior, John Augusta, visited Luther several times, who at parting with him in 1542, pressed his hand, and said:—"You are the Apostle of the Sclavonians; I and my colleagues will be so to the Germans." The Brethren repeatedly represented to Luther, that while the Hussite Churches, in Bohemia and Moravia, did certainly become Lutheran by degrees, and adopt the doctrine more and more, yet they evinced no zeal for improvement in their christian conduct. But they (the Brethren) would not unite with the friends of an unruly life, or with any who left them under pretence of elsewhere obtaining the pure gospel, *without the yoke of discipline.* They said, as they also had declared at the commencement of their own separation, that they could not look for good success in the work, while in the schools and academies of the Protestants, so much care was bestowed upon science, and so little upon conscience. Luther replied, that Popery could not be destroyed otherwise than by overthrowing all that which savoured of the yoke of human superstition, and enthralment of conscience; but now, when he found that the world rushed towards the other extreme, it became necessary to check the rein and restore discipline; and he promised to think seriously upon the subject, as soon as he should be allowed to breathe

more freely. He said also:—"They excel us greatly in church discipline; a yoke which Germans are not yet willing to bear."

This intercourse of the Brethren with the Protestants in Germany, doubtless gave rise to a report which was spread throughout Bohemia and Moravia, that in the union of the Picards, lay the origin and development of the Revolutionary League of Smalcald. Two circumstances confirmed the suspicion. First, that some of the principals of the confederation, such as Krzinezky, belonged to them. Secondly, that the confederation was not undertaken without previous public prayer and fasting, which could not have been done without the approbation of their ministers. The council of Prague, therefore, requested both the utraquistical administrator, and the Catholic administrator of the archbishopric, Ernest Schleinitz, to intercede with Ferdinand for the extirpation of the Picards; and the chapter sent a petition to the King, praying for the restoration of Wladislaw's mandates against that sect, and also proposing several other measures, which were calculated to preserve the Catholic doctrine from the anti-church innovations which prevailed under the garb of utraquistical rights. They sought to impress the King with the necessity of nominating a wise and watchful archbishop; of suppressing the Catholic College of the University of Prague, of which most of the tutors cherished Lutheran principles; of nominating a Catholic only as sub-chamberlain, who should be careful that no Lutherans were appointed as magistrates in the royal towns; finally, of prohibiting the importation of Lutheran books from Nuremberg, &c. They

moreover preferred complaints against those land proprietors, who were addicted to Lutheran or Picardite principles, on the plea of their encroaching upon the rights of the clergy, by depriving Catholic curates of their churches in several places, and appointing Lutheran or Picard ministers, under the name of *Utraquists*. The utraquistical administrator also presented a petition against the Picards, and urged, in the name of the states, the appointment of an archbishop, who should ordain the *sub utraque* as priests.

In consequence of this the King issued a decree on the 4th of October, in which he rigidly commands, that all the vacant churches should be supplied with priests who adhered either to the *sub una* or *sub utraque*, as heretofore, and that all the legal revenues should be restored. At the same time he renewed the old edict of Wladislaw against the Picards, and prohibited all "disorderly" meetings. The result of this decree was the emigration into Poland and Prussia of several hundreds of the Picards, especially from the great cities. In the latter country their confession was acknowledged, as agreeing with that of Augsburg in the principal articles, and a church was granted them at Marienwerder. Others remained in Bohemia, confiding in the protection of their friends, at Jungbunzlau and Leitomischl. In the former place they held an assembly, and drew up a petition against the late edict, which they sent to the King at Augsburg, with the indefinite subscription of "*the Christian Union of Bohemia and Moravia.*" Ferdinand despatched the petition to his son, the hereditary Duke Ferdinand (whom he had nominated Governor of Bohe-

mia on his departure), with new mandates against the Picards. The hereditary Duke observed, that a mere repetition of the mandates, as had been experienced in former cases, only produced indifference, and that the Picards could only be exterminated, when their preachers, as the ringleaders, should be seized. In which case his Majesty would be undisturbed, for the laity of that sect, whether nobility, knighthood, or peasantry, would join those of the *utraque*, and adopt their faith. The ministers were consequently seized, or exiled; and many of the nobility also, who had protected the Brethren, were deprived of their possessions. Among other districts, Brandeis, Turnau, Leitomischl, Bidschow, and Chlumek, where the Brethren had formed churches, fell to the King.

But the adversaries of the Protestants had now experience of the fact, that evangelical faith was not to be stifled either by threats or by punishments; that where the word of God was concerned, it was obeyed rather than the mandate of the King, and that even death had lost its terrors. It was therefore resolved that a careful attention should be given to provide a more insinuating and artful instruction than had hitherto been adopted. The instruments chosen to effect this purpose were the Jesuits, men of genius and energy, and specially trained as instructors of the young.

That order, then in all its youthful vigour, had already been distinguished by its zeal for science and devoted obedience to the Pope; its members were more familiar with the business of life than the regular orders of monks, more polite in their manners, as well as more eloquent, learned, prudent

and subtle than the general clergy of the Roman Catholic church—such men were fitted to labour among the people, and to work out the result, so eagerly desired by the King, the Popish nobles and the bishops of Bohemia.

The order of the Jesuits, as is well known, was founded by Ignatius Loyola, and was confirmed, under the name "Company of Jesus," by a bull of Pope Paul III. in 1540. They came to Germany in the year 1542, and to Vienna in 1551. The first who arrived there was Nicolas de Bobadilla, though the most distinguished was Canisius. Ferdinand chose twelve youths, and sent them to Rome, that they might be well grounded by the Jesuits in the papistic theology, and thus be prepared to contend successfully against the Protestants. Among them was Wenzel Sturm, the immediate pupil of Ignatius Loyola himself, and the first Bohemian Jesuit. He afterwards laboured with great zeal in Prague to divert the Brethren from the simplicity of the Gospel, some of whom were led away by his craftiness.

In the years 1554 and 1555, several Jesuits were sent to Prague, for the purpose of manufacturing genuine Catholic priests. They obtained the Clementinum for their college, which had formerly been in the possession of the Dominicans. It was the above mentioned Canisius (author of a famous catechism), who arranged the college after the model of that of Augsburg, Freiburg, and Dillingen. At first the Hussitish rabble abused them in no small degree; but they persevered and by degrees ingratiated themselves with the people; to this the courteous demeanor of the learned Sturm chiefly

contributed. Through the influence of his persuasion several other Jesuit colleges were founded and endowed in the country, viz. at Krumau, Neuhaus, and Kommotau; and in Moravia, at Olmütz and Brünn.

The Hussites became very uneasy, when the learned and indefatigable Canisius began to preach at Prague. The Jesuits, however, did not profess any peculiar desire to dispute with heretics; they rather announced themselves as men who had come to teach the sciences gratis.* They thought that the Hussites, when once accustomed to learn human wisdom from them, would soon listen to them upon subjects of religion also, and become their disciples. The number of the Jesuits soon increased; in the middle of the 18th century, thirteen hundred and fifty belonged to the province of Bohemia alone.

Catholic writers are inexhaustible in the praise of the Jesuits in that country. Pessina, in his work upon the cathedral of Prague, thus speaks of them.

"Soon after the fathers of the Society of Jesus had arrived, great results became manifest in consequence of their activity, affability, insinuating manners, adroitness and extraordinary abilities. For both in Prague and in other places a considerable change for the better took place with respect to religion; so that the Catholic verity, which in Bohemia was upon the point of breathing its last, appeared to revive again and rise publicly. Schools were opened, youths instructed, not only in grave and polished sciences, but chiefly in due piety; the common people were taught well the doctrines of

* On the Bohemian Jesuits, especially respecting Sturm, see Pelzel's Doctors, iii. 56, &c.

faith, the lukewarm confirmed, many led back into the bosom of the Catholic church, and among these even two of the leaders of those who were in error. The more the correctness of the new opinions was apprehended, the more did the Catholic cause and the number of true believers increase. Thus was verified, what Pope Paul III. had affirmed, in his bull of 1549, when he called that order a fruitful field, which may, not only every year, but even every day, bring abundant and rich fruit to the glory of the great King, and the increase of the faith."

Exertions were made, that a seminary or college might be founded for the education of youths, as theologians and clergymen of that order. This was indeed urgently required, for at that time, says Pessina, there were so few orthodox priests, that had it not been for the Jesuits, the Catholic religion would have been suppressed in Bohemia.

"Those new warriors of the church (says another writer), whose body she endowed with an entirely different, terrible constitution from that of the army of mendicant monks, raised in the ages of barbarism, and who had invented tactics more suitable to the spirit of the new age, effected for the enfeebled church all that could be expected from human power, directed by the deepest cunning, zeal, perseverance, genius, and all the united powers of mind. They laid hold upon the courts, the common people, the confessional chair, the pulpits, the education of youth, the missions. Nothing seemed to them impossible, in order to enlarge the dominion of the holy chair. They regarded nothing, whether persecution or calumny, in order to attain their end."

Of their agency during the anti-Reformation

crusade in the 17th century, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

The Bohemian Protestants, towards the latter half of the 16th century, were agitated between hope and fear. Upon the whole they were less disturbed, less severely dealt with, than those of Austria. Sleidan has preserved some important documents of that period, by which we are informed that the Emperor again insisted upon the communion *sub una*. He said, "that he was only anxious that his subjects should constantly adhere to the true religion, and remain in obedience to the Romish church, out of which no one can be saved, and that the communion should be understood according to ancient rite and usage." But, in opposition to this, the states openly declared, "that Christ had appointed the supper in very clear terms, and no power upon earth had a right to alter such a command; that such was the usage of the ancient church is capable of proof, and that the present practice had only crept in by degrees; that the Emperor would do better to direct his attention to the command of Christ, to the harmony of the apostles and the primitive church, than to trouble their conscience." It has already been stated that 200 evangelical ministers were, notwithstanding, obliged to quit. Among the few that remained, was Boniface Schiebchen, pastor in Arnsdorf, afterwards in Günthersdorf, who also administered the ordinance of baptism at Leippa, Ausche, Aussig, and other distant places. After he and his successor Melchior were gone, a weaver, Sebastian Griesbach, for four years edified the faithful by reading from a collection of sermons.

Ferdinand, however, seems in his old age to have relaxed in his severity against the Protestants. He hoped yet to gain over the opponents of the Catholic church; and that the storm might be allayed, he commissioned his ambassadors at Trent to intercede with the Council for the concession of the cup to his Bohemian subjects:—"the mere grant of it, (he said,) would restore a whole kingdom to the obedience of the Pope, and prevent it from uniting with the Lutherans." A similar intercession was undertaken in behalf of Austria, Bavaria, and France. Ferdinand also petitioned for the remission of that most unnatural and unscriptural law of the Romish Church—the celibacy of the clergy;—in the hope, that one of his requests, at least, might be granted. Though some inflexible Spanish and Italian prelates strenuously opposed and voted against the cup, it was ultimately permitted by Pope Paul IV. in 1564. But before that grant was published, the Emperor inquired what precautions were used in the distribution of the wine among the people. The utraquists had therefore to give an account, how the wine was distributed, and whether they were quite certain that not a drop of it was spilt.

The questions which Ferdinand desired to be answered, are interesting even now, as shewing the great importance which was attached to the outward form of the mere vessels, and the minute ceremonies which the church had superadded, since the original institution of that simple though solemn Christian rite.

The following have reference to certain precautions in the general distribution of the wine. "1. How large are the cups and vessels, out of which the

second form is handed to the people? Are they so formed, as that none can be spilt through neglect or accident? 2. How are those cups formed, in which the sacrament is carried to the sick, in the towns and villages, in the country, over hills and dales, in summer and winter? Is there no danger of spilling a part? 3. How is the wine usually preserved, that it should not turn sour in summer and become frozen in winter? 4. In case of necessity is it consecrated as well as the mass? 5. What is done if the wine happen to be insufficient for the number of communicants? Is it increased by adding some unconsecrated wine? Or, in case of few communicants, what becomes of the wine that is left? 6. How, and how often, are the holy vessels cleaned? 7. How do the people receive the communion when there is but one priest? Does each communicant receive both forms successively, or do the whole receive the bread first, and afterwards the wine? 8. The spiritual addresses to the people in the Bohemian tongue, for the sake of reverence and devotion, are they held before or after the communion? 9. Are there any spiritual songs sung during the communion, and what are they?"

These questions were answered by the administrator of utraquistical church affairs in the following manner. "1. The cups which we use in our churches are everywhere alike, and not different from the cups used by our neighbours, and of the same height and breadth. They vary in size. They contain about half a can of wine. They are, however, not filled, for between five and six finger breadths remain empty at the top, that nothing should be spilt and offence be occasioned thereby.

The largest cup may hold from six to eight pints, or even more. In such cups the wine is consecrated only on occasion of great festivals, when much people come to the communion. From these the holy blood is poured into smaller vessels, according as it is wanted. Upon those chalices there is a lid, the one half of which is fastened, but the other can be opened. There is besides, a small spout for pouring out into the smaller vessels. The cups are of silver, and generally, they are gilt. 2. When the sick do not dwell far from the churches, then the holy supper is conveyed to them in ordinary small cups, and with great reverence. The priest walks in slow paces, a few boys in white linen stoles, with burning torches in their hands, go before him and sing spiritual songs. Generally, also, some people of both sexes follow the priest. This is always the case in the forenoon. 3. We are not in habit of preserving the holy supper, since there is divine service daily, especially in towns. Thus every day may be used what has been newly consecrated. If some be likely to remain, more is given to the last, and the rest the priest uses at the communion. But if it still happen that, from some important cause, a part of the wine be left in the cup, it is not kept more than two or three days, so that it can neither become sour nor freeze. 4. To the sick and those who live at a distance from the church, the holy supper is administered in the following manner. First, the priest holds a conversation with the patient concerning God and the salvation of his soul, concerning penitence and the Lord's supper, concerning the grace of God promised in his Son. At the same time consolation and hope of an eternal happy life

is held forth to the sick from the Scriptures. If the patient be not too weak, and is devotional, all this is performed more circumstantially. But if he is quite debilitated, the priest immediately consecrates bread and wine, and hands it to him, and also to others, who usually kneel beside him. 5. The last part of the fifth question has already been answered in connection with the third. To the first part we answer thus: When the one or the other form is not sufficient for the communicants, the priest consecrates again with the usual solemnity, in silence and kneeling. But this is a case which very seldom occurs. 6. At the conclusion of the service and the communion, a little unconsecrated wine is poured into the cup and drank by the priest. Then the cup is again rinsed with wine, which the boys drink who minister at the communion. After this the cup is wiped with a clean towel, wrapped up and put in its place. 7. In our churches we have not the custom, of the communicants receiving the holy supper on one side of the altar under one form, and on the other side under the other form, from a different priest; but the communicants placing themselves in a circle round the altar close to each other, they kneel down, and receive the communion at the hands of one priest. They receive the holy supper under the first form successively one after the other, then they partake of the cup after the same manner. Before and behind the priest, boys walk with lighted torches, who bow their knee during the partaking of each individual. 8. The sick is only exhorted to devotion before the communion by an address, as already mentioned under the fourth question. In public communion such encouragements are omitted, because in our

churches there is preaching at least three times in the week, so that the people are sufficiently instructed, as much upon the holy supper as in all other necessary doctrines of faith. In this way even the simplest of the people can understand the nature of the holy sacrament. Nevertheless some exhortations are given to those who partake of it. Under the first form the minister says: 'May the body of our Lord Jesus Christ tend to the salvation of thy soul.' And at the handing of the cup he says: 'May the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, shed for us upon the cross, lead to the remission of all thy sins.' 9. The ordinary mass among us is chanted in the Latin tongue. During the transubstantiation the schoolboys or the choir sing a sanctus. At the Agnus Dei the communion is performed, when a few psalms or other hymns are chanted. But where the mass is performed in the Bohemian tongue, (which is the case in most of the churches, and especially in the villages,) then, during the communion, the whole congregation sing hymns composed by Huss or others."

These answers were sent to Vienna. When the Pope's permission for the use of the cup had been received, the bishop of Prague published it on the 21st of June, 1564. The following is a correct translation of the remarkable notice which he posted on the church doors on that occasion.

"Since it has been ordained and resolved, that the partaking of the holy supper *under both forms*, is to be announced in the name of God on the next Sunday throughout the whole of the kingdom of Bohemia, the right reverend father in Christ, the lord archbishop, paternally exhorts all abbots,

prelates, and the rest of the clergy of his diocese, of whatsoever rank they be, and commands them, by virtue of the obedience due to him, to fast to-day and to-morrow, and to pray God Almighty, during the holy offering of the mass and in other prayers, that the grant of the cup may continue successful and prosper, to the glory of the most holy Trinity, to the enlargement of the holy church, and to the furtherance of peace and quiet of the believers in Christ. He likewise exhorts the rest of the devout and peace-loving Christians to unite their fervent prayer with that of the collective clergy."

The following Sunday it was solemnly announced in Prague cathedral by the prebendary, Peter Peristerius, and in other churches, that the Holy Father at Rome had adjudged to every Catholic Christian, the permission to desire and receive the cup also.* This permission was used generally throughout the churches, even by the Jesuits; all indeed received the cup who required† it. Thus it continued during two generations, until the year 1623.

From the following proclamation will be perceived the reasons which induced the Catholic party to

* The grant from Pius IV. arrived on the 16th of April, 1564, to Julius Pfleig, Bishop of Naumberg; on the 18th of June it was published in St. Stephen's church at Vienna, thirty-six days before the death of the Emperor. It was, however, a matter of complaint in the Council of Trent, that even common laymen considered the communion under *both* forms to be a positive institution of Christ, and that should it be refused, threatenings were held out of joining the Lutherans.

† Stress was to be laid upon the last word. The cup was only to be given at the express desire of the laity. But it was in the power of the priest to influence their disposition. For though Ferdinand had gained the Pope, he had not yet succeeded with the Pope's underlings.

make such a concession to the Calixtines, and the results which they expected from the measure:—

"It is well known to every one what calamities, dissensions, and oppositions have hitherto occurred in our country on account of religion, followed by bloodshed, error, and seduction of men's hearts. For this cause his Imperial Majesty, as a faithful governor and father of his subjects, ever since the time of his ascension to the throne of this kingdom, has with great anxiety of mind sought in various ways to restore peace and union in his dominions, especially in his hereditary kingdoms and states, and has therefore often negotiated with the Electors and Princes of the Empire, both spiritual and temporal, until his Majesty found that the article concerning the Lord's supper was one upon which Christian union might be founded and preserved. For many years past he has perceived that numerous faithful Christians, from a real good will and special desire, have sought ardently to take the Lord's supper under *both forms*. In the Council of Constance, about 140 years ago, this communion under both forms was set aside, on account of certain circumstances which then transpired. But his Imperial Majesty, with the Electors and Princes, as also his council, hath most graciously judged that such communion under both forms ought to be permitted, by the interposition of his Holiness the Pope; which was done accordingly. For his Holiness bears a special paternal love, not only for the person of his Imperial Majesty, but also for his kingdoms and hereditary countries; his Holiness, therefore, of his paternal authority, has granted the permission which was so earnestly required, to the praise and

glory of the name of God Almighty, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the consolation of this kingdom and of the countries belonging to it, as also to the relief of burdened consciences, that such a supper of the Lord under both forms may be received. For this paternal and gracious indulgence we are earnestly to thank God the Lord, and then his Papal Holiness, and his Imperial Majesty, as our faithful pious Prince, Governor, and Father, for ever; and so prepare our hearts that henceforth Christian love and unity may spring up amongst us and continue to increase."

When this was publicly announced from the pulpits of Vienna, it caused great joy throughout the churches in Austria and Bohemia, though many were dissatisfied with the favour which had thus been shewn to the utraquistical party.

The following admonitions, which followed the reading of the proclamation, by the Bishop of Gurk at Vienna, are worthy of our attention. "I must yet give a short exhortation as to how every one is to be prepared for these things, lest such indulgence and permission of the Lord's supper end in contempt and other mischief. First, all pious and faithful Christians are firmly and constantly to maintain our Christian faith against all sects and fanaticism, that by the Word of God there is herein his body and blood. Every one is honestly to prepare himself for it, as aforetime, by the confession of his sins. Moreover, no one is to condemn or judge those who take the supper under one form, and whose hearts and minds are established in it; neither are they in anywise to do the like towards those who commune under both forms, but all are to live

together in unity as brethren and friends, as was the case prior to the Council of Constance, when it was appointed under one form. For Paul teaches: that we are to live together as brethren, because we all eat of *one* bread, and drink of the same cup; and thus we are all to be of one mind, and are to judge all our affairs in Christian love. But if one will despise and judge another, and think that either the *sub utraque* or *sub una* receive more than the other, he sins against true charity; and even if he have received it under both forms, and have no charity toward such as take it under one only, it profits him nothing.

"It is also necessary to be observed, that if one be willing to receive the communion, and prepare himself as stated above, he is to give due notice to the priest, that he may know the number of communicants he is to have, and to how many he is to administer. Also, that no offence or disturbance may take place during the Lord's supper, as has happened in our times, so that the overplus was spilt upon the wall or hid in the pocket.* For this meal is to be differently observed from common daily meals. As to what regards the sick, they are also to be exhorted, not to put off the communion, much less delay it to their last hour. But every man, while consciousness remains, is in time to reconcile himself to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be seen of the priest. For it is much better to lie upon the bed with the Lord Christ than to be without him, especially as a man does not die thereby, but receives

* Thus, the Catholics always give as their reason for refusing the cup, the facility with which a drop might either be spilt or defiled.

eternal life. It is, furthermore, to be known to all, that this kind of communion is not permitted at St. Stephen's in Vienna alone, but that it may be thus celebrated in all other churches."

The spirit of charity and of Christianity which breathes throughout this address of the archbishop is truly refreshing, and forms a striking contrast with the bitter and unscriptural manner in which the subject was usually approached.

Notwithstanding the example of the prelate and the orders of the Emperor, the Jesuits in Vienna refused to publish the concession in their church until they had received the necessary instructions from Jacob Lainez their General at Rome. For this cause the inhabitants of Vienna became greatly exasperated against them; and the Emperor received the report of their conduct with much emotion, the more so as he knew that the above-mentioned General, and Alphonsus Salmero, another Jesuit, had most vehemently opposed his wish with regard to the concession in the Council of Trent. But when letters arrived from Rome, including the Jesuits in the papal decree, they submitted themselves, and acted accordingly.

Nevertheless, though the use of the cup had now been introduced into Austria, Bavaria, and other countries, it must not be supposed that the Catholics universally partook of the holy supper *sub utraque*, though, doubtless, a large majority required it under both forms. But the priests, at the same time, recommended to the people the hitherto usual rite under one form as the really true catholic communion, and many therefore adhered to the old custom. In consequence of these dissimilar prac-

tices, arrangements were made in the churches to meet the peculiar circumstances. This appears especially from a rare book, which was printed in that very year, 1564,* containing directions for the guidance of the priests in their preaching to, and confessing, those who are willing to partake of the sacrament under either one or both forms. The following extracts shew what pains had been employed in comparing the administration of the holy supper *sub utraque* with the doctrines of the papacy on this article, and how everything had been directed rather to disgust the laity with that practice than to make it agreeable to them.

"First, care is to be taken in the churches and parishes, that a chalice be provided of gold, silver, or other gilded metal, to the honour of the holy sacrament of the altar, in which the form of wine is to be consecrated, of such a shape that it may be poured easily and without danger into the smaller cups in which the communicants receive the most holy sacrament of the blood of Christ, through a little pipe or spout fastened thereto. And it is sufficient that each person take but a small quantity of it, since the same is contained in little as in much; as it is sung in the church:

'Sumit unus, sumunt mille,
Quantum isti, tantum ille;"

and often a small quantity of the blood of Christ may suffice for many persons. In places where no large chalice may be had, and there is a lack of

* By order of the authorities of Ingolstadt, under the following title: "Christian and Catholic information as to the observance both of priests and laymen in the worshipful sacrament of the altar under both forms."

people to partake of the form of the blood of Christ, the consecratum sanguinem may be preserved for the following day, or the communion delayed until the next: but if, on account of weakness, or other cause, they are unable or unwilling to wait, they are to receive it under one form. But the sanguis Christi is by no means to be increased by unconsecrated wine, as is the case with holy water or oil; for the blood of Christ and wine are two different things, which latter cannot be changed from one substance into the other but by consecration. In the urgent case of a man at the point of death, when no mass can be read, and no sanguis Christi be had, inasmuch as it could not be preserved, if he should desire the communion *sub utraque*, that man must be content with the one form. For it cannot be allowed, that a priest should consecrate without Christ and the mass, or even one form without the other. The priests are to use all diligence and care to prevent confusion in the administration, that the sanguis Christi be not given pro ablutione to one who desires to partake of the holy sacrament under one form, or *vice versa*, that the ablution do not tend pro sacro cruore to those who desire it *sub utraque*, and thus through negligence or any other way dishonour be offered to the holy sacrament; or that through the ignorance and imprudence of the common simple people, the honour of the Creator be not given to the creature, and no idolatry be practised in that way. But to avoid and prevent this, by the grace of God, as much as possible, it is necessary in those churches and parishes where the communion under both forms has become a public custom, or should become so in

time, on account of the number who require it, that the chalice in which the blood of Christ is to be handed by the priest be placed upon one side of the altar, but the other chalice, in which there is more unconsecrated wine for the rinsing or ablution, be held and handed to the communicants *sub una* by a layman upon the lower step of the altar. For it is not considered advisable, that any separation be made, whether in age or days, between the communicants, lest it have the character of separation and schism, since the holy sacrament is and ought to be the bond of love and the symbol of unity. But in those places where the greater part of the parishioners remain in and adhere to the *ancient Christian and godly* practice of *sub una*, and has also hitherto constantly remained in and adhered to it, those parishioners who require *sub utraque*, as the smaller portion, may be appointed for and fed on another day, that the greater and more numerous portion be not hindered in that devotion, nor be made to doubt, receive offence, or have their consciences disturbed. This is especially to be observed in a parish where those persons *sub utraque* have hitherto been but very *few*; in which case it is to be given and administered to them in all silence and privity, that no distraction be caused *among the other obedient parishioners*, who now, in their simplicity, are in general orderly; but in the *other* case might be induced to a change, and then, if they should not altogether despise, they would certainly, at least, hold in less estimation, all the ceremonies and ordinances of the holy Christian church. The sanguis Christi is not to be given, either to the sick or one in health, otherwise than *through a*

little pipe, as already mentioned, and when he (the priest) communicates, which he is to do before the others, he is to drink from the cup the *particulam*, which he had put in with a silver spoon (as has hitherto been done), then he is to rinse the cup and the pipe with wine, and take that also, or, if there be one of those present who partake *sub utraque*, he may give it to him.

"The priests, who have to administer the communion, are carefully to observe, that nothing should remain upon the beards of those that wear them,* also with regard to the women and sick, they are to manage it with such care, that they need not immediately wipe their mouths and thereby dishonour the sacrament."

After various other exhortations and encouragements—the priests are directed to conclude in the following manner:—

"But since to partake of the holy sacrament is the privilege of such only who are purified by repentance, confession and penance, and those in whom the regeneration of the body is apparent; and however, since our God is a God that has no pleasure in the ungodly, and nothing evil can abide with him, it is also necessary and profitable for us to know, that according to the word of God and the praiseworthy practice of the ancient church, no persons are to be admitted to the sacrament of the body of the Lord, that is, to his communion, who are ensnared and impenitently continue in gross and deadly sin; it may be those who cause disturbance in the church by sectarianism and separation, or such

* The long beards worn at that time augmented the scruples against the general use of the cup, as well as other reasons.

who do not believe, that under the form of bread and wine the body and blood of Christ is in reality distributed to the communicants; moreover, those who renew again the opinion already condemned, Nestorii in Concilio Ephesino, that the body of Christ be under the form of the bread only, and the blood under the form of the wine only. Finally, those who, like Pelagius, believe and hold, that it is necessary that the communion be *sub utraque*, just as if it were a sin to receive the worshipful sacrament in the other way, or as if there was not sufficient or so much received in it. All such sects, with their various pretensions, are altogether contrary to the holy church, which has always and in every place taught, maintained and believed (?), that under *each* form there is the *entire* Christ,* and there is nothing less under both, but that an equal efficacy, power and benefit follow from the participation of the sacrament, irrespective of the mode of the communion, whether under both or one form, *according as the holy Catholic Church may order it at any time.* All those sects, so long as they persist in their errors and sins, and have no true intention to improve, may not be admitted to the holy communion."

From this extract may be seen the great veneration the Romanists entertain for the holy supper, and with what moderation *some* of them could even speak against the Protestants.

In the same document there follows " the common or public confession, founded upon scripture.— I, poor sinner, offer myself as guilty, and confess to

* This was carefully enjoined on *every* occasion, thereby to shew that the cup was needless. To this present day Catholics endeavour to persuade us to the like belief.

God Almighty, the blessed Virgin Mary, all God's saints and angels,* that I have sinned greatly from the days of my childhood unto this present hour, by many wicked thoughts, words and deeds, also by neglect of many good things, as also God my Lord knows it in me, poor sinner. For all this I am sorry, and repent with all my heart, and ask forgiveness of the merciful eternal God, through Christ our Lord."

After the absolution and prayer it is added:— "Then they shall begin to feed the people, and in places where there are school-boys, they shall sing during the partaking, as was the custom of the church in times of old: 'Lauda Syon, Homo quidem fecit, pange lingua.' Or the people may sing in common a German Christian hymn of the bitter sufferings and death of our Saviour, or of the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ—as for instance, the seven words of our Lord on the cross, or the pange lingua in the German, or other Christian hymns of this kind, which were sung in the churches by our pious forefathers, or as each Christian curate and pastor may find in the German prayer-book, called 'The soul's treasure.'"

From this account we may perceive how the matter in dispute was treated among the utraquists. We are often told, that they were Catholics in all respects, except in the single point of the cup. But the foregoing passage shews us that the author at least had received more from Wittemberg than from Rome. It may well be supposed, that in the Popish church the cup was not considered essential,

* Here is Antichrist—raising the creature to a level with the Creator.

because it was constantly taught that in the bread alone the *whole* Christ was already received, and the conditions of such a belief were *always* enjoined at the same time the cup was granted.

To many in the present day the grant of the cup will doubtless appear a very trifling concession, but in those times it was considered a matter of the highest importance, and was obtained with the greatest difficulty; notwithstanding the influence of the Emperor in the council, and the earnestness with which his ambassadors were commanded to press the subject. This will be clearly seen by the following address presented by the Imperial Commissioners to the reverend fathers assembled at Trent:—

"Ever since the Council of Constance, the practice had been retained in Bohemia, that in the communion the priests gave the people the cup. No councils, no reasons, no manner of force, not even the power of the sword could divert the people from their principle. From this cup, the portion of the people belonging to that party, obtained the name of Calixtines or *sub utraque*. This party is scattered over all the empire, and to it belong men of consequence and authority. Some time ago our kind mother, the church, according to the authority bestowed upon her of God, to give and abolish laws according to time and circumstances, had *granted* the cup under certain conditions. But, as it often happens, when the conditions and treaties are not observed with sufficient conscientiousness and care, Pope Pius II. began to withdraw those favours. But when the apostolical chair strove to unite those straying sheep with the rest, Paul III. and afterwards also Julius III. commissioned some of their nuncios to grant again to the Bohemians the use of

the cup, *if* they would *join the church.* Thus then this affair was begun, but it could not be accomplished on account of various interposing difficulties. His Imperial Majesty, our most gracious Sovereign, according to his great piety and zeal to preserve and promote our Christian and Catholic religion, having, after a lapse of about 140 years, raised again, as if from the dead, the archbishopric of Prague, the only one in the country,* and with great care, exertion and expense, refounded and established it,—it appears *now*, if ever, to be the suitable time to make such arrangements that the Bohemian nation may return entirely to the obedience of the holy Roman Church, our mother, and take refuge in her. This is especially apparent, since those Calixtines, called *sub utraque*, publicly petitioned his Imperial Majesty, in the last Bohemian diet, that he would intercede with his Holiness, on their behalf, that their priests should be ordained by none other than the new archbishop. They also promised, that, should their request be granted, they would use their endeavours to induce their priests also to acknowledge his authority, and render him obedience. Accordingly his Majesty, through the medium of the right reverend the lord Bishop of Pharus, who is now nuncio from his Holiness to his Majesty, and the noble Count Prosper de Arco, orator of his Romish Majesty, has now declared his wishes to his Holiness, that such an excellent and much desired opportunity, to restore and preserve the church of that empire, may not be lost sight of. Our most gracious sovereign

* After a vacancy of 131 years that bishopric had to be entirely refounded. It was obtained by the Grandmaster-general of the Knights of the Cross, Anton Brusz, a learned, eloquent and virtuous man. See Pelzel's Doctors, iv. 18, seq.

is also disposed to commit the whole affair to the judgment and decision of you, most honorable legates and reverend fathers. In all other things they agree with the arrangements of our holy mother, the Roman Church; or they have, at least, only deviated from the right way in some matters of little importance. They have at all times desired no other priests than such as are in celibacy, and respecting whom they are sure that they have been ordained by a Catholic bishop, who is in communion with the apostolic chair. They are also in the habit of remembering in their prayers the holy father, the holy college of cardinals, the bishops and the general state and order of the church, and call upon God in public prayer and litanies for their good estate and happy success. They also often exhort in their preaching that this be done, which sufficiently shews how they are disposed towards the apostolic chair. And those things, in the rest of their affairs, in which they deviate from the true doctrine of the holy Roman Catholic Church, may be altered and corrected almost without difficulty, provided that their so much desired use of the cup be conceded them by your clemency. Nor is it surprising that the inexperienced multitude should be led into the error (!), imagining that they could not give up the cup without much scruple of conscience, when we see how even most learned, pious and truly Catholic men defend the opinion, upon many grounds, that those who receive the communion *sub utraque* obtain thereby more grace than those *sub una*. They are, therefore, most holy fathers, worthy of your compassionate regard. Be, therefore, very cautious, lest by your too great severity, you drive them to such despair, that,

expecting no clemency on your part, they join the ungodly sectarians, by whom they will be induced to entire separation, by incessantly urging every species of artifice and seduction. There are also pious and Catholic men, dwelling in other kingdoms, as in Hungaria, Moravia, Silesia, Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Bavaria, Suabia, and other parts of Germany, who likewise petition for the cup with great earnestness. This was not unknown to the late Pope Paul III.; and he permitted all the bishops throughout the whole of Germany to celebrate the communion under both forms, to those who devoutly desired to partake of the holy supper in that way, rather than under one form—though it could not be accomplished on account of several great hindrances.

"This is also the case with other nations, as we have mentioned before. We fear that if the cup be not granted, they will go over to the Lutheran and other sects. Nor must it be supposed, while in these days theologians have publicly raised doubts, that those who desire the cup are altogether heretics. Who does not know, that we have no communion with heretics? Our desire is not to care for heretics, but for those who in all points are Catholics, and shew themselves to be sons of the holy Roman church. If they obtain this from your clemency, then we may entertain the hope, that the heretics who have separated from us for this very cause alone, will again return. We hear of several who live in the midst of heretics, that they publicly declare, if they could but obtain the Lord's supper under both forms, they would gladly return to us. There is no doubt the heretics, besides thinking of us more favourably, will then lend a more willing ear to our decisions, and more readily

submit themselves to your directions. We expect, moreover, that the holy sacrifice of the mass will soon be again viewed with greater reverence; the majority are weary of constant innovations, and would gladly return to us, upon the Lord's supper under both forms being granted.

"If now it be asked, as in these days it has been reported, Who then is the applicant? let it be known: his Imperial Majesty petitions his Holiness, that it be permitted to the Lord Bishop of Prague to ordain Calixtine priests. But that cannot be done until they are first admitted into the bosom of the church; and this, again, is impossible, so long as they schismatically take and obstinately retain the use of the cup, &c. In addition to the great and innumerable miseries of the country, there are also many places in it, where for several years no priest has been seen, at all able to instruct and educate the rude and ignorant people according to the rule of Christian piety.

"O, most reverend Fathers, have compassion, and consider how you may lead back to us, and preserve in the faith of the holy Roman church, not only these numerous and populous nations, but many others."

With regard to the second request of the Emperor Ferdinand, namely, the marriage of priests, Paul IV. replied, that as yet he could neither grant nor refuse it; because the subject required longer consideration.* But the ordination of the utraquistic

* Well might the Pope require longer time for consideration on the subject of celibacy, for it is one of the main pillars of the wondrous fabric of the Roman apostacy. From the early ages of the church, virginity had been extolled as exalting human nature

priests by the Archbishop of Prague was settled by the same authority. The Emperor was gratified

almost to a level with the angelic; and this presumed holiness soon came to be considered peculiarly necessary to those who were to minister in holy things, and stand in the sanctuary as intercessors with God for the people. The law, therefore, which forbade the marriage of the Roman Catholic clergy met with a ready acquiescence; especially when so many of both sexes had already throughout Christendom devoted themselves to a life of celibacy. The Romish hierarchy soon perceived the vast advantages to be derived to their system from the strict enforcement of this unnatural requirement. Hence the steady opposition which has invariably encountered every demand for its abrogation. But while the Roman Catholics submit to this yoke, and even glory in their submission, this "forbidding to marry" affords to Protestants a sure mark of those who should in the "latter times depart from the faith," of whom the Spirit spoke expressly by the mouth of St. Paul. It is a remarkable instance of the consequences of "giving heed to seducing spirits," (such as some of the early Fathers, who wrote so absurdly and extravagantly in praise of virginity,) that the chief qualifications of a Bishop or Pastor seem to have been forgotten or overlooked, though laid down with great clearness and minuteness in the very same epistle which foretells the apostacy already alluded to. "A Bishop must be the husband of one wife;—one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity;—for if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" That Timothy, and Titus, and Paul himself, were not married, is foreign to the question; they were not bishops, or elders ruling in established churches, but missionaries or evangelists, appointed to carry the glad tidings of salvation to the heathen. Besides, Paul claimed for himself the power of taking a wife, even as Peter and other of the Apostles, and emphatically declares that "marriage is honourable in *all*." It is matter of regret that Protestants are not more careful in ordaining as ministers those only who possess scriptural qualifications. The will of God, requiring bishops to be the husband of one wife, is disregarded, while the will of the founder of a college, requiring fellowships to be held only by the unmarried, is held sacred. Doubtless the appointment of unmarried novices as Christian

with the concessions he had thus obtained for the benefit of his Bohemian subjects; but in a few days afterwards he expired.

The *utraquists*, who were always pleased with this name, as it reminded them of the privileges they had obtained, were now satisfied, for they no longer suffered persecution. Hence many Roman Catholics joined their communion, considering it more in accordance with the institution of Christ to partake of the cup in the holy supper. But the Protestants were not induced, in such numbers as was expected, by the mere grant of the cup, to unite with the now tolerated utraquists, or to be satisfied therewith; and the utraquists themselves had already embraced too many of the principles of Luther's doctrine to be induced by this alone to yield implicit obedience to the Roman Pontiff. Hence the intentions of the Emperor were not realised; though the archbishop, Anton Brus, certainly took great pains to bring the Calixtines entirely back to the Catholic church; but this he did neither with severity nor persecution.

Many of the Bohemian Brethren, during this period, screened themselves under the name of utraquists, in order that they might enjoy toleration, though they differed from the Catholics on much more important grounds than the mere use of the cup. The more zealous among them, however, as we have seen, had already emigrated to Poland and Prussia.

pastors has not only puffed up many with pride, and fostered the growth of heresy, but has also circumscribed the limits and diminished the influence of true Christianity, both among Roman Catholics and in the world at large.

CHAPTER III.

1564 TO 1609.

MAXIMILIAN II. — THE BOHEMIAN CONFESSION — CHURCH REGULATIONS—OPPRESSION IN MORAVIA —RUDOLPH II.

A LESS unfavourable era for those who were not within the pale of the Romish Church, arrived with the mild reign of Maximilian II. who in 1562 was crowned King of Bohemia, and ruled as Emperor from 1564 to 1576. Both Catholic and Protestant historians speak highly in his praise. The cause of his equitable conduct towards the Protestants must doubtless be traced to the principles instilled into his mind by the men who surrounded him, and who superintended his education, particularly Wolfgang Sever, a pupil of Melancthon. Among the former of these, John Sebastian Pfauser, a religious man, and well acquainted with evangelical truth, was his court chaplain. Ferdinand I. was extremely dissatisfied with the doctrines which he taught; and on one occasion he entered his chamber and severely reproached him for misleading his son, at the same time drawing his sword, he seized Pfauser by the throat. The Emperor was with great difficulty appeased; but the chaplain was obliged to be removed. The name of Pfauser ought to be held in remembrance, for the mild sentiments with which he imbued the mind of Maximilian. But

to John Horak of Hasenberg, a Catholic clergyman, also belongs a share of praise; for it is recorded that this "learned and judicious man, together with the other tutors, Schiefer and Muschler, had influenced his pupil with such peaceable and tolerant sentiments, even with respect to religion, that he, when Regent, would not have any one vexed or persecuted on account of his faith." The eminent John Crato, his physician in ordinary and confidant, was also amongst those who sought to lead Maximilian in the right way. Once, while riding together, the Emperor, lamenting the religious dissensions which existed amongst Christians, asked him who, of all the various sects, approached nearest to apostolic simplicity? Crato answered, that he thought the "Brethren," under the name of Picards, might bear away the palm. The Emperor replied: "I think so too."

These sentiments of Maximilian, who in kindness of disposition was equal to Henry IV. of France, were of course attacked in various ways. During the lifetime of Ferdinand, he once complained in a letter to the Palsgrave Frederic III. that he had incurred the displeasure of his father on account of his court chaplain; and fearing that in a short time he might visit the palatinate as an exile, he solicited that, if such should be the case, he might find in his house an open and hospitable retreat. On another occasion he wrote to Paul Eber at Wittemberg: "that he wished the pure gospel were everywhere preached, though the Roman hierarchy should be retained." He also sent a messenger to Melancthon for his opinion upon eleven theological questions, and through the Duke of Wurtemberg procured books relating to the Reformation. The knowledge that he had a preacher, who favoured

the communion *sub utraque*, though not in Prague itself, but in other cities of Bohemia, was received at Rome with much dissatisfaction. Great exertions were made to confirm him in the Romish faith, and ensure his obedience to the Papal chair; and while the famous Jesuit, Father Canisius, Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Ermeland, and the tortuous Spanish Jesuit Christoph Rodriguez, were sent to him, with the persuasive threats of the Pope, his empress at the same time sought to allure him by kindness. Canisius, meanwhile, writing to Ferdinand, endeavoured to excite him to harsher measures against his son and the creed which he seemed disposed to adopt, by hinting that suspicions were entertained regarding the faith of the emperor himself: "Consider (said he) that it behoves you to free yourself, and the whole house of Austria, from his reproach. For not only in the surrounding places, but even among foreign nations, it is rumoured abroad that you are a follower of the Lutheran doctrine."

Nevertheless, the noble Maximilian was not to be dissuaded. He persisted in the opinion, that it was too much to restrict men's belief. To force conscience he conceived to be to assail heaven, as he once told the Bishop of Olmütz. It is also said, that with several of his courtiers he partook of the Lord's Supper under both forms. Yet he was not clear and decided in his belief; he still wavered between adherence to the views of the separatists, and the expediency of yielding to outward circumstances, which threatened the integrity of the empire; and he was besides always favourable to the Jesuits, as they themselves acknowledge.

These sentiments naturally brought upon him

the censure of Catholic writers. Pessina says:— "As emperor and chief defender of the Catholic Church, he was too negligent of his duty to protect and promote the Catholic religion. He was, moreover, so favourable to people of the Lutheran sect, that he sometimes attended their worship and did not scruple to listen to their preaching." On the other hand, the joy and hope of the Protestants were very great. The Bohemian brethren dedicated their hymn-book to him in 1566, and ventured to say in the preface, that "the right form of the primitive church had been altered, the true worship abandoned, the light of truth made dim, the word of God adulterated, and the sacraments rent asunder; that error, superstition, and abuse had been introduced; and that the true doctrine must again be established." They wrote thus honestly and confidently by the advice of the above named Crato; and presenting to the Emperor, David, Jehoshaphat, Josiah, Constantine and Theodosius, as ensamples, they urgently solicited a general reformation of the church. Though the Emperor was unable to promote their affairs as he wished, yet it was acknowledged as a great advantage that he restrained persecution, and permitted none to suffer by fire and sword; and it was with great reluctance that, instigated by the Bohemian chancellor, Joachim Neuhaus, he ratified the edict formerly issued by King Wladislaw against the Picards.

From 1570 to 1580 was an important period in the history of the Calixtines. For "the Jesuits," says the historian Jacobäi, "undermined the statute of 1435, signed by the Emperor Sigismund, that only utraquists were entitled to citizenship and offices

in Prague;* and the Council of Altstadt, in 1570, was compelled to grant citizenship to Sebastian Agricola, through the incessant intrigue and assiduity of the chancellor Wratislaw Pernstein." By the same influence honest evangelical clergymen were removed; unqualified ones, as long as they flattered the Catholics, were appointed, and common people were forced to become Catholics. Whoever attempted to resist laws which militated against the faith, were reported as heretics; so that the states, induced by new oppressions and insults, drew up a petition with a confession of faith, (which will be spoken of more fully hereafter,) and presented it to the Emperor Maximilian in 1575. He, with his council, acknowledged that the confession was Scriptural, and he promised the petitioners certain privileges. Indeed, he issued orders that the Catholics should leave the others at peace; and certain Bohemian lords were charged with the execution of the Emperor's commands. But Maximilian, on account of pressing affairs was called to Regensburg (Ratisbon), where his life ended in 1576, and the imperial promises were left unfulfilled. We must observe, however, that in 1574 the bull of Paul IV. permitting the *utraque* was published at Prague; where in the following year Maximilian held a diet, and gave his consent that the non-catholic states of Bohemia should draw up among themselves a common confession; though the Jesuits were opposed to this measure. The

* At that time, in 1568 and 1571, many Protestants in Austria, hitherto only tolerated, obtained better assurances from Maximilian. It was about the same period that the *consensus* of Sendomir (1570) was concluded in Poland between the Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Brethren. Schrockh's church hist. ii. 707.

association of the various non-catholics of the kingdom was indeed very singular. For in that confession were united four Christian branches. Utraquists, (who excepting the use of the cup were properly Papists,) Lutherans, the Reformed (then called Calvinists, but now Helvetians), and Bohemian Brethren, who occasionally were still called Picards. The Confession was well and wisely drawn up, subtle points of distinction among themselves being carefully avoided. The three last parties thus accommodated each other in order that they might share the privileges of the Utraquists.

The Book of Persecutions, at p. 127, gives the following account of the circumstances attending this Confesssion:

"In the year 1575, Maximilian held a diet at Prague, and allowed the Utraquistical states a union (syncretismus) in the presentation of one confession. The Jesuits and pseudo-Hussites did all in their power to prevent it, but in vain. In their petitions and protestations they had insinuated that the Utraquistical states did by no means agree in faith among themselves, since they tolerated Picards, Lutherans, and the Reformed. This induced the states to prove their agreement, and they determined to draw up their confession in common. They chose for it certain theologians, and put them under the inspection of persons selected from among the knights, nobility, and citizens. The learned of Prague furnished the theologians with the books of John Huss, and the decisions concerning religion at which the old Bohemians had arrived in synods and diets. Those who acknowledged the Augsburg confession (a great portion of the states) gave in that confession, and the "Brethren" gave in theirs. They then

compared, in the several articles of faith of each party, both the contents and the words by which they were expressed, and chose such modes of expression as each party could and would subscribe to. They did not allow themselves to enter into particular, subtle, and scholastic questions and differences. This Christian moderation and wisdom was not only beneficial to them at that time, but they also gained the applause of many great men in and out of Germany.

" The Emperor deigned to receive the confession presented to him. He both approved of it, and gave the petitioners the assurance of his royal protection; but he did not as yet grant them permission to build an university or form a consistory. He, nevertheless, very solemnly promised, that neither he nor his son, who was already appointed successor, should ever oppose them. These favourable answers were not given in writing, as there were many to dissuade him from it. But every one felt himself at liberty to acknowledge, according to his own view and conscience, the confession agreeable to the practice of *sub utraque*, and publicly and without molestation to follow his own worship.

" This Confession was composed in the Bohemian language, and was not translated and printed in Latin until 1619, when the consistory and the academy presented it to King Frederic. It had, however, been translated into German by Dr. Bohuslaw Felix of Lobkowitz, and Hassenstein, by order of the diet, that it might be submitted to the judgment of the theologians of Wittemberg. Those learned men highly approved of it, and in their German epistle to the barons, dated Nov. 3, 1575, they say, —' This confession is certainly short. Yet it is

evident that in its composition special care has been taken that the principal articles of faith should be expressed concisely, conclusively, and without ambiguity, in order to avoid vain dispute, contention, and doubtful questions. Had it in like manner been published in the German, many a disputant in our country would have found something to cavil at. But we rather commend your Christian prudence and moderation. Wherefore we sincerely exhort you, that you do not allow yourselves to be led away from this holy simplicity, whatever judgment may be received from other quarters. So much is certain, it is most conducive to the churches, and they are best edified, perfected, and preserved in unity, when the pure Gospel doctrine is presented to the people apart from abstruse subtleties, which only engender strife.'"

This Confession must not, however, be confounded with many others, presented at different times by the Bohemian Brethren.

A Catholic writer relates that an appeal had been made to the religious truce of 1555, and the grant made to the Austrian nobility in 1568; but that the new archbishop Anton had opposed this with prudence and courage; that the canons, by dint of publications and visits to the grandees, had zealously exerted themselves to hinder the success of the non-catholics. The unavoidably sad results, in case the Emperor should accept the Confession, are painted in the most glowing colours, and stress is laid upon the astonishment such an unnecessary concession would create, supposing the Lutherans, or even the Calvinists, were right, since even then it amounted merely to a question of *de*formation.

The following is the title prefixed to the Prague

edition of 1619:—" *Confessio Bohemica Evangelica;* i. e. Bohemian Confession, or acknowledgment, of the holy christian belief of the three States of the kingdom of Bohemia, who in true faith receive the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, *sub utraque.*" Joined to it are "the charter," the "union," the "agreement," the church and consistory order, &c. Upon the back of the title are the sentences from John xvi. 33, Rom. x. 9, 10; after these follow a dedication to the states from Mich. Spanowsky, prime secretary of the kingdom of Bohemia; then the supplication to the King, dated Tuesday after Ascension Day, 1575, and finally the Confession itself.

The following extract will shew the tone in which the petition was drawn up:—

"Forasmuch then as we, as well as our forefathers have our religion founded upon the sure ground of sacred Scripture, and since such religion and confession of the holy faith can in nowise exist without good order, we most humbly petition your Imperial Majesty, that your Majesty would most graciously grant and permit us, that we, like our forefathers, may appoint to the administration of our consistory godly, virtuous and exemplary men, for the confirmation of our priests, and for the maintenance of good order and a holy walk, by means of this holy confession, that no disorder, but peace, love and unity, may be preserved among us all." A proposition was likewise made with reference to Maximilian's promise, that *defenders* might be appointed, who, in case of infringement, should hold out a protecting hand, and report to the Emperor.

The Confession contains 25 articles, each of which is explained by and proved from holy writ. They

are as follows :—*Of the Word of God, including the Old and New Testament.* With it the passages from John v. 39.; Luke xxiv. 27. xi. 28.; John viii. 47. xiv. 23.; Rom. i. 16.; Mat. iii. 17.; Mar. i. 11. Luke iii. 22.; and especially Deut. iv. 2. *Of God; of the Holy Trinity, or the different persons in the Godhead.—Of the fall of man and original sin.—Of the free-will of man.—Of the origin, cause, and enormity of sin.—Of the law of the divine commandments. — Of justification of man before God.—Of faith.—Of good works.—Of the church of God.*—("We believe and confess, that there is one, holy, catholic church, always abiding; and the same while here in this world, is a visible assembly of all believers and saints, who in all places adhere to the true, pure doctrine of Christ, in the form and manner as the same was faithfully preached and exhibited by the holy evangelists and apostles, and who in all things are to submit to and be directed by the ordinances of Christ, their only king, bishop, and head, in the bond of love, and the participation of his holy sacraments.")—*Of the keys and power of the church.*—("The whole power of the church, with which God the Lord did invest, in scripture, the church, the prophets, the apostles and their successors, *does not extend to their persons*, but properly to the word of God, whose servants they are. They are neither to be, nor to be called masters; for He alone is their master. It is against His will that they instruct themselves and the church in any *other* doctrine, except that alone, which they have heard from His mouth, as their master, and of which the Holy Ghost is to remind them.")—*Of the most revered sacraments ordained by the Lord Jesus Christ, their benefit and right*

use.—Of the first sacrament of Christ, the holy baptism; of the second, that of the Lord's Supper. ("We believe that the bread in the holy supper is truly the body of Christ; the wine in the cup is truly the blood of Christ.")—*Of penance.—Of confession.—Of ministers of the Church.—Of Church order or ceremonies.* ("They are only to be such, as are *neither contrary* to the word of God, nor superfluous.")—*Of worldly authority.—Of marriage.* (Here occurs the following passage: "Though we would desire to see the priests maintain chastity without wives, in order to make lighter the duties of their ministry, we have, nevertheless, regard to the counsel of the Holy Ghost and of Paul; and the declaration of the Holy Scriptures is to be observed, that whosoever has not the gift of chastity is free to marry in a godly manner according to the ordinances of the church. Marriage is good, pure and holy, and ordained of God in man's state of innocence, and it is therefore much better to abide in this ordinance of God than in ungodly disorder contrary to the will of God;* especially those who serve in the word and the sacraments, and are to be an ensample to others." Heb. xiii. 4.; Gen. ii. 18.; 1 Cor. vii. 2, 9.; Lev. xi. 45. xix. 2.) *Of remembrance of the Saints.* ("Not invocation nor trust in them, for our only

* In the year 1527, when the magistrate of Strasburg upbraided the papal nuncio, with the numerous concubines kept by the priests, without the least shadow of reproof on the part of the bishop, who at the same time was anxious to depose the married priests—the nuncio replied, that it was a far greater sin for priests to marry than to keep many concubines, for not all can be so continent as John the Baptist. Sleidan, lib. vi. p. 43. Many important sentiments upon this point have been collected by Reudecker in his Fundamental History of the Reformation, (1843), p. 7, 72, &c.

mediator is Christ." Matt. iv. 10.; Ps. l. 15.) *Of fasting.—Of the resurrection of the Dead.—Of life everlasting.*

That this beautiful Confession should be an abomination in the eyes of the Roman Catholic party was very naturally to be expected, seeing that both their doctrine and practice were alike exposed and condemned by authority of the word of God.

In those years, when milder sentiments emanated from the throne, the Bohemians held more frequent intercourse with the Protestants of Saxony, and we find that an interchange of offices among the clergy was not uncommon. Many young men from Bohemia became pastors in Upper Lusatia, and those from Lusatia came to Bohemia.

During this period of comparative quiet the Brethren were engaged in their celebrated translation of the Scriptures* from the original Hebrew and Greek into the Bohemian language, which was

* It was commenced in 1571, the expenses being generously supplied by John Zerotin, baron of Namest, and father of Charles and John Dionysius. The translators chosen for the purpose were Albert Nicolaus, a Silesian, and Lucas Helicæus, a Pole of Posen, son of a baptized Jew, both especially skilful in the Hebrew language; assisted by the learned John Æneas, senior; Esaias Cæpolla, George Stregicius or Wetter, conseniors; John Ephraim, Paul Jessenius, and John Capito, ministers. They divided the labour among them, and proceeded vigorously with the work. The first part, or Pentateuch, was completed on the 29th of May, and published the same year in quarto; and when seen by a certain bishop of the Roman church, he said, "Assuredly this is not the work of illiterate persons, or of men of ordinary mental powers." The second part was published in 1580; the third in 1582; the fourth in 1587; the fifth in 1588; the sixth, comprising the New Testament, with annotations mostly by John Niemchanius, senior, in 1593. The next edition, more correct, and more ably illustrated by Zacharias Ariston, senior, appeared in 1601.—Regenvolscius, p. 64.

published, with annotations, under the title of the *Brethren's Bible;* copies are now very rare, for during the anti-Reformation they were committed to the flames. Among the few that are known to exist, is an excellent one in the museum of Prague, lately obtained from Zittau.

Before proceeding further, the following document is presented to the reader, to whom it may be interesting to ascertain the changes which had been effected in ecclesiastical affairs, and the manner in which public worship and the various other services of the church were conducted by those who had embraced the Reformation at this early period. It is entitled, " Regulations for the worship and its ministers in the parish church at Ellbogen, drawn up and instituted by the noble Count and Lord Sebastian Schlick, count of Passau, lord of Weisskirchen and Ellbogen, together with the council and church of that city in Christ, A.D. 1523."

" *First.* Whereas Jesus Christ, our dear Lord, has very specially commanded his apostles to proclaim and preach the holy Gospel, whereby the true worship of God and his glory may be promoted and increased: therefore the worship on Sundays, and other greater and lesser feasts, yea on all other days, shall be conducted in the church in the following manner. The service is to begin with preaching and the word of the holy Gospel; and when preaching is ended, then high mass is to be begun, performed, and concluded, by the rector or chaplain.

" *Second.* The procession, or the going round the church, shall be omitted.

" *Third.* The consecration of water and salt shall be abolished, for the reason that the like outward ceremonies and pomp in the church only

withdraw the people from true worship, which is faith and trust in God through his holy Gospel, as experience has sufficiently proved, and as people have declared, that when they had to go upon a journey, or to do any secular business on a Sunday or any other day, they were more anxious to hasten to the procession, the sprinkling, or the consecrated salt, than to the word of God, thereby thinking to have on that day sufficiently sought and attended divine service, and that their sins were thus forgiven them; in which way they worshipped the creature rather than the Creator: this is idolatry.

"*Fourth.* On working days it shall be the duty of the minister, as noticed above, to read the holy Gospel instead of early mass. And if, after the preaching is over, the curate or the chaplain is inclined to perform mass, read, or sing, or, on the contrary, to put off the mass until next day, to a more convenient time of the high mass, or not to perform mass at all on working days, he is at liberty so to do; but whether mass be performed or not, every one is to be furnished with the opportunity of partaking of the holy sacrament of the altar on his desiring it.

"*Fifth.* Upon any one desiring the sacrament of the altar, the curate or the chaplain is to administer it according to his own request, under *one* or *both* forms, provided that he be devotionally prepared for it; and for the very reason, that it is most clearly shewn in the Gospel, that Christ the Lord himself instituted that sacrament of his holy body and blood for the forgiveness of sin, without any exception whatever.

"*Sixth.* Neither the curate nor any one else shall oblige one desiring to partake of the sacrament

to go to auricular confession, but it must be left to the inclination and devotion of the individual.

"*Seventh.* The minister is also to read to the people, especially on Sunday, the Ten Commandments, the Confession of Faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave-Maria.

"*Eighth.* The parishioners of Ellbogen bind themselves, and are willing to engage a minister at their own cost, without any encumbrance to the curate, with the understanding, that as soon as convenient, that minister is also to reside in the parsonage, as was formerly the custom.

"*Ninth.* The minister is to preach to the people nothing but the pure Gospel, as the Lord Jesus Christ has procured and left it behind him, according as it is set forth in the true, unerring, holy Scriptures; in which alone consists the salvation of the whole world, if so be that Christ the Lord, as he himself shews in the Gospel, is to become salvation to us, the only Way, the Truth, and the Life, so that none can withstand us in the truth, whether creatures in heaven, earth, or hell; for God alone is true, and every man a liar.

"*Tenth.* The "celebration of the dead" is to be abolished.

"*Eleventh.* The "remembrance of souls" is to be put an end to, for the reason that no proof can be given of purgatory grounded on the Gospel, the holy Scriptures, or the commandments of God; but we know that it diverts from the faith which every Christian ought to have in Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour, and in his salvation. For men, and especially the common people, have their faith and trust *more* set upon this external work of celebration

and remembrance of souls, than in the sufferings and salvation of Christ, in which alone all our hope, trust, and sufficiency consists, and ought to consist. There is likewise an inequality in this trade among the people, and in the ability of the rich and the poor.

" *Twelfth.* If a man die, the body is to be carried, as before, and whosoever chooses may have the bells rung for the dead at the burial, as heretofore, that it may be known that one is dead. The people ought and may follow the body, for the assistance and consolation of their Christian brethren.

" *Thirteenth.* As regards the interment in the churchyard, the poor of the community encounter great difficulty, so that they are not able to purchase the ground like the rich. But since the ground of the churchyard belongs to the community, and not to the curate, there shall be no necessity for them to buy it.

" *Fourteenth.* No curate is to have any further power in the church to provide for a congregation; but he is to attend diligently and faithfully upon his ministry, as a minister of Christ and steward of the mysteries of God. For it is the community of the church who have to furnish the material house of God with building and all other things necessary, towards which the curate does nothing.

" *Fifteenth.* Baptism is to be performed in the German language, because this holy sacrament has been instituted by God, and is our first entrance, obligation, duty, and vow, to embrace the holy christian faith in God. It is therefore right and proper, that the godfather who takes the child from its baptism, as also all others present at its performance, should

understand in what words and sense the child is baptized, that no lightness be manifested, as was wont to be, during the performance of that holy sacrament. The godfathers are also to answer for the child, and say: 'I believe,' 'I will,' 'I renounce,' &c. But on account of ignorance of the language, they knew not what the words and promises for the child signified.

"*Sixteenth.* Vespers, matins, complets, &c. which have been observed for some time, are at the option of the curate. He may either attend to them or not.

"*Seventeenth.* The curate is to perform the marriage ceremonies, and receive pay as before.

"*Eighteenth.* The curate is to have as his regular salary the tithes, and the penny on the four days, viz.: Christmas, Easterday, Whitsunday, and Lady-day, which is called *Assumtionis*, as also the mill-tax at Ellbogen; and on his part he is to keep a fit, prudent and honest chaplain as his assistant, and to board the schoolmaster as heretofore. And, finally, if any one thinks that in any part or in the whole of these articles there be any thing contrary to Christ, his divine faith and doctrine, as erroneously transacted by us, though in our conscience we ourselves in no wise think and believe so: we are ready and willing, with good proof from the holy gospel, the true word of God, to be guided and instructed, as we desire to live in obedience to Him, as far as the grace of God works in us: Amen."

Though, as we have seen, under the mild sway of Maximilian, the Protestants were seldom molested in Bohemia, yet they were not without trouble and sufficient cause for complaint in the other imperial

states, as their adversaries, strictly speaking, never were quiet. This was more especially the case during the reign of Rudolph II.

The following historical account of the oppression endured by those of the evangelical Lutheran religion in the territory of Nicolsburg in Moravia, affords us a deep insight into that time of anguish. It also gives us a clear view of the circumstances attending the progress of the Reformation in that country, which is so closely connected with Bohemia. There the inhabitants had become evangelical from the year 1540. But their tranquillity ceased on the death of Maximilian. When, on the accession of Rudolph II. the lord steward, Adam Dietrichstein, obtained the government, he was anxious to stifle the Lutheran establishments, which also well accorded with the wishes of the local authorities. In a letter to Dietrichstein they entreat of him a clergyman, who, with "the assistance of the Holy Ghost, might rescue the church from the accursed heresies, by virtue of true, unadulterated doctrine, and in that true ark of Peter, lead them back to the old church of Christ, where they might attain to peace of conscience and salvation." The then government asked for an able man from the Jesuit convent at Vienna, which they obtained in the person of Father Michael Cardaneus.

A helping hand was likewise lent by Dietrichstein's castellan, Tarquin Kappen of Rugier, and his successor Martin Dotlsteiner of Ebersperg. On the 7th of Dec. 1578, the Bishop of Austrian Neustadt, Lambert Gruter, consulted with Dietrichstein, but he recommended more lenity towards the Lutherans than to the Anabaptists. Father Lorenz Magius contributed also to re-catholicize the government. But as their efforts were not generally successful,

an order was given, Oct. 29th, 1579, that the rebellious should go to confession within four weeks' time, and whoever remained unwilling to do so, was to leave his grounds and premises; and Stephen Bader was to lose his aldermanship, if he did not renounce the Lutheran doctrine. On the subject of quitting their homes, four of them thus write, "We then as poor subjects must obey, as we are unwilling to renounce our old christian religion."

In 1582 and 1583 Ebersperg, the castellan, issued the following mandate: "Whosoever, without a cause, does not keep holy the Sunday, and does not go to church, (and one was appointed to make inquisition of the fact), shall be made to pay three pounds of wax; and whoever dies without confession, is not to be buried in consecrated ground; whoever leaves his child three days without baptism, is to pay one pound of wax for each day beyond that time; whosoever walks about or plays during the time of preaching is to be put in the fool's cage. There was also one to examine whether any had meat in the kitchen during the fast days; and a petition is still extant from an old man, in which he confesses, that through carelessness he had eaten meat on Friday, and begs to be released from the penalty of eight dollars. But this was refused. From a letter of the Jesuit Cardaneus, dated 13th February, 1580, we learn what special joy it occasioned him, that the wife or cook of the former Lutheran pastor had partaken of the Lord's supper under one form; another pastor's wife at Pergen had done the same; and that on the last purification day of the Virgin, the people had almost contended for the wax-lights!

The lord of the manor now desired that the

Bishop of Olmütz, Stanislaus Pawlowsky, should formally receive the converts, and re-consecrate the churches, altars and churchyards. These things the bishop was forward to accomplish, congratulating himself and the authorities on the occasion. He was greatly commended for his zeal; having often stood in the burning sun, travelled in rainy weather, and frequently walked on foot to the consecration of the churches, altars, and burying grounds. A minute description is still extant, wherein it is said, that on the 23rd of June, 1582, his grace re-united the church of the hospital with the churchyard, consecrated two new altars, then the parish church with the churchyard, and a new burying-ground before the gate. This lasted from seven to four o'clock. On St. John's day he read mass at the high altar, confirmed 916 young people and adults; among whom were the daughters of the lord of the manor and the captain; the adults, among those who were confirmed, celebrated also confession and the communion. The like performances, with distribution of money, took place in other parts of the manor, entirely through the great exertions of the bishop, whose worthy and unblameable conduct is mightily praised. He re-consecrated eight churches, nineteen altars, and confirmed 3,989 persons. Yet it is lamented, that still there were so many heretics in the neighbouring places, that Nicolsburg was like a rose among thorns. The bishop then gave the following written directions:—The churchyard was to be cleared and made level; all new churchyards were to be walled or hedged round, and in every newly consecrated church twelve crosses were to be painted, four in the choir, and eight in the nave of the church. Lord

Dietrichstein was to provide that able priests be appointed, and that no heretics be interred in the newly consecrated churchyards; due devotion was to be observed at weddings, and the administration of the sacraments was to be according to the Olmütz agenda. Pope Gregory XIII. then sent to that town two letters of indulgence, which the priest Erhard told the people were given and granted out of the treasury chest of the holy merits of Jesus Christ.

Another letter of indulgence was granted by Sixtus V. in 1586, to the inhabitants of Nicolsburg, authorizing them to go to confession, take the Lord's supper, and pray for the Chinese. This was signed by Jacob Ximenes, as secretary. The Nicolsburgians promised to remain in the Catholic faith, and Duke William of Bavaria expressed to them his satisfaction on that account, and advised them to establish a fraternity of "the body of Christ;" for thereby "they will again honour the most holy sacrament of the altar, which they had hitherto abused and dishonoured;" in the same letter, the Duke thus proceeds, "engage willingly and without constraint, from this time and for ever, that you will follow all the statutes of the Roman Catholic Church, but especially let this be your triumphant token that ye will at all times partake of the holy supper under one form only, and become entirely separate from the sectarians."

On the 16th of Aug. 1584, the curate Erhard, by advice of Cardaneus, drew up Latin regulations for the future conduct of the curates of Nicolsburg. In which is maintained, that on account of heresy, the mother of blindness and ignorance, the people became rude and less pious; that it was no wonder, since heresy destroys piety, which is the gift of

the Holy Ghost, not existing out of the Catholic Church. That on account of that rudeness they sought to work out something by *speaking German* during the partaking of the sacrament. It is likewise ordered that shrove tickets should be distributed, and, after Easter, called in by three authorised persons, to ascertain whether all had been to the confessional. A non-catholic, or one who had not been to confession at Easter, was not to have christian burial, nor to be admitted as a godfather. The clergy are also reminded, that it is their solemn duty to lead a sober, chaste, and unblameable life; and diligently to teach Canisius' catechism to the young, and insist upon their regular attendance at church: for since the Lutherans are so diligent to instil into their children their abominable doctrine, the Catholic clergy ought not to be behind them in zeal.

From two writings, in 1584, one from Cardaneus of the 24th of June, and another from Erhard of the 27th, it is evident that at that time there was great lack of Catholic ministers, so that many places were vacant, and an increase of their number is earnestly urged. Among other reasons, Erhard points out, that in the adjoining domains there were still many of the Lutheran clergy, who like raging wolves might again catch many a sheep; that a bridle should be put upon the non-catholics still existing in secret; that the converts should no longer have the plea of complaining that they had before greater opportunity to hear preaching, and that the heretics should have no cause for rejoicing at our failures. On this account the legate Possevin, who was then at Prague, wrote on the 10th of February, 1585, to the Bishop of Omültz, the above-mentioned Paw-

lowsky, complaining that the two clergymen sent by him behaved "in an ungodly and shameful manner;" and Dietrichstein thought, that it was better "to be altogether without curates than to have such; that their wantonness ought not to be overlooked, especially that the one of Wisternitz should be deposed, judged as an ungodly priest, and a better take his place." The bishop accordingly examined into the conduct of these clergymen, and sentenced them to fasting, asking pardon and confinement to their own houses; but they were not deposed. However, they did not improve, and the bishop threatened to remove them from their places. It appears, that notwithstanding the bishop's threat, the curate of Wisternitz conducted himself with such entire negligence and scandal, that Dietrichstein again complained "of his being more for pulling down than building up; that he was given to gluttony and drunkenness, swore like a low fellow, often neglected mass, did not exhort the people at weddings, did not even attend the confession; that the people were obliged to leave on Christmas on account of his drunkenness; and that he accused them of not being yet good enough to be Catholics." It was further stated that he was always intoxicated, had no talent for preaching, did not study his sermons,* so that the people, instead of delight, had a horror of going to church; that he kept suspicious persons about him, visited houses at inconvenient hours, vexed the people through an unchristian conduct, and some began to imitate his filthy life. The following passage is likewise characteristic: "the people apos-

* The Lutheran pastor who had been driven out was one of the best of men. How the congregation must have deplored the change!

tatise again, become heretical and even brutal; and his negligence is an additional cause of it; so that, supposing they were not Catholics, he could not make them so, because of his offensive life and neglect of the offices of the church; that it must indeed be a lazy devil, from whose hands he should deliver a soul from heresy." In conclusion he says—"Your grace will be pleased to recall that vexatious man, treat him as he deserves, and help to provide me in future with edifying men, who may attend to order. For my part, I am determined rather to leave the curacy *vacant*, than to keep or suffer such priests." On the 5th of April one was deposed, and on the 6th the other was admonished. Nevertheless, in writing, they were still addressed in the curial style *honorabilis et in christo dilectus!!*

The above-mentioned Cardaneus was subsequently engaged in the conversion of 14 towns and villages. Bishop Pawlowsky also employed him in the examination of the nunnery and community at Auspitz near Brunn: and Erhard, the curate, was honoured by the bishop with the title and authority of dean.

The account of these proceedings of the Popish party in Moravia, even at this early period, affords an exact representation of the way in which the anti-reformation was afterwards effected in the kingdom of Bohemia.

This was commenced during the reign of Rudolph II. the successor of Maximilian. On his accession to the throne the Evangelicals* entertained great hope of enjoying under his sway uninterrupted

* After the union by the Confession of 1575, Hussites, Utraquists, and Calixtines, generally called themselves Evangelicals, avoiding the old names.

liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of their religion. Nor were they disappointed; toleration was granted to all, until the Jesuits, in 1602, obtained the Emperor's confidence, and persuaded him to abandon the mildness which had distinguished Maximilian, and adopt the severity of his grandfather Ferdinand.

The circumstances which led to this change in his conduct are thus related by the Catholic writer Pessina:*—

"The claims of the non-catholics came to no issue, because of the death of Maximilian. Rudolph, who succeeded his father, was invariably bent upon maintaining and defending the Catholic religion, and he forbad the repetition of such claims, having more regard to the example of his grandfather than to that of his father. Hence in 1584, and again in 1602, he issued a severe edict against the Picards, and prohibited them from having their separate churches, and exercising their religion. He also decreed that neither Picards nor members of any other sect, but only Catholics or Utraquists should be appointed to offices in the state. There were, however, certain seditious people, who had been more deeply infected with the heretical pestilence, and who did not cease troubling the Emperor. When therefore in 1609 there happened a dissension between him and his brother, Duke Matthias, they seized the favourable opportunity for gaining their purpose, and venturing farther and farther, they finally determined to hazard everything in order to obtain liberty for themselves and their followers in the establishment of their new religion.

* In his work on the Cathedral of Prague, p. 336.

But when they could not succeed either by intercession or intrigues, they determined to urge the Emperor, and endeavour to obtain by violence that which they could not gain by voluntary consent. These schemes were soon carried into effect; and the tumultuous leaders, becoming more and more restless, as though they were mad, laboured to procure religious liberty by petitions and by threats, appearing determined to agitate even hell itself."

Then the Catholic nobles in the states, held private consultations with the Bishop of Prague, Charles of Lamberg, in the year 1609; and after long deliberation unanimously agreed, that they ought not to make any concession to the heretics; whereupon they advised the Emperor, that, if the non-catholic states insisted upon a compliance with their demands, and an unlimited religious liberty, he should reply in the following manner: "Since it has already been determined by enactments and various decisions in the diets, that besides the Catholic and Utraquistical religion no other shall be practised; and that, agreeably to the good pleasure of Ferdinand and Maximilian, as also of himself, he could by no means in the present case decide contrary to what had already been settled and confirmed. As to what, moreover, regards the Picards, who also call themselves United Brethren, it is sufficient, that this sect has been interdicted and felonized throughout the country, and rejected by many decrees of kings and emperors, as well as resolutions of the states. No other religion, therefore, can have any claim for toleration but the *sub una* and the *sub utraque*."

The Protestant account, in the 40th chapter of

the Book of Persecutions, exhibits the religious affairs of Bohemia under Rudolph II. from a different point of view.

"Upon the death of the excellent Maximilian, which happened in the year 1576, his son Rudolph succeeded him, who after the example of his father reigned peaceably till 1602, during which time no one was persecuted on account of religion. But in that year, through the secret intrigues of the Jesuits and their tools, it came to pass, that Rudolph signed and published the edict forged by them respecting the renewal of Wladislaw's mandate against the Picards; but only with this success, that the churches of the Brethren were closed for a long time. For those nobles who were favourably disposed towards the Brethren solemnly assured them that the law could not affect them, because they were not like those Picards described in it. By this representation they so far succeeded, that the mild Emperor did not insist upon a strict enforcement of the edict.

"Neither could their opponents insist upon its execution, on account of the other evangelical states. Some credible historians have likewise recorded, that when, on the evening of the 22nd of July, the news arrived that the Turks had taken Stuhlweissenberg, an important city of Hungary, the Emperor said with perplexity, 'Something of the kind struck my mind to-day when I began to usurp the province of God,—which is the province of conscience.' "

CHAPTER IV.

1609 TO 1621.

THE EMPEROR RUDOLPH TOLERATES THE PROTESTANTS—OPPOSITION OF THE PAPISTS—PROCEEDINGS IN THE DIET—THE BOHEMIAN CHARTER.

THAT the Emperor had no other intention than to keep his pious father's promises, and to protect liberty of conscience, appears evident from his subsequent conduct. For in the year 1606 the Protestants of Hungary received permission for the free exercise of their religion, through the peace of Vienna; and in 1609, despite the opposition of the Pope, the Spanish party, and many of his counsellors, he gave up to the states *sub utraque* the lower consistory, and the university, which they might reform according to their own pleasure. To this he finally added a charter—a document not only sealed with his private, but with the imperial seal, so that it was not merely a permission of Rudolph, but valid as a state enactment even after his death—whereby he confirmed that donation; he also gave the evangelicals permission to retain, and, if necessary, to build churches and schools; prohibited all religious persecution in his own paternal dominions, and in those of the Catholic states; enjoined upon his successor to keep the grant sacred, and finally, gave again permission to the Bohemian

states to choose at his cost *defenders*, who should protect such franchise.

" The Bethlehem church, rendered famous by the preaching of Huss," continues the Book of Persecutions, " was granted by the university of Prague to the Brethren, as the true followers of that faithful martyr. All these things," it is added, " were accomplished with the approbation of every good man, and attended by general thanksgivings to God."

" The utraquistical states also made an amicable arrangement with the *sub una*, for the maintenance of concord and peace among themselves. This was drawn up in certain articles, which were enrolled in the register office,* and ratified by the signature of the Emperor and his senators. Nevertheless, several among them, alleging scruples of conscience, refused their signature; wherefore the utraquistical states protested against them, that if, in future, they should attempt anything against the liberty granted to the states by the Emperor, (as was indicated by the refusal of their signature,) they should be called to account as disturbers of the public peace. This protestation of the states was entered in the register office, having been ratified by the Emperor; and it was afterwards with other privileges confirmed by Rudolph's successors.

" Thus, as pseudo-Hussitism disappeared, a purer religion flourished throughout the empire; so that among a hundred there was scarcely found one who did not profess the evangelical doctrine.

* Afterwards the privilege of sharing in the rights of the registry was taken from the Protestants.

" But, alas, with religious liberty, as is now often the case, began also a life of insubordination; and church discipline,* even where it was exercised, began perceptibly to decline. Hence the pious were not all satisfied with this liberty, which resulted in carnal security; and many anticipated the chastening hand of God, even before the terrible reign of Ferdinand arrived."

We shall now consider more closely the period of the famous *charter*, or royal letter, which has been ably described by both Catholic and Protestant authors. The good results of the Bohemian confession of 1575, the impartial mildness of Maximilian, and the lenity of Rudolph during the greater portion of his reign, occasioned a large increase in number of the non-catholics, and likewise excited the apprehensions of those who judged a continuance of old Catholicism to be indispensably necessary. These apprehensions became stronger, when so many of the nobility (among the states) and of the learned, sided with the Utraquists and Protestants. To them (though many remained Catholic) belonged the ablest men, as may be seen from the biographies of those times, when erudition was so flourishing in Bohemia. Learned men from foreign parts could now be procured even for clerical and academical tutorships, inasmuch as the condition of celibacy was no longer necessary. There was, however, great contention on this point. It is well known that at Prague many able professors were deposed merely because they married; but as to priests marrying, we have hundreds of examples; and in old biographies we meet with such notices as

* Which so distinguished the Brethren.

the following,—"The maiden Anna, daughter of the old curate of Grottau;" "the preacher Clement Lehmann, in Zittau, was a curate's son of Leippa;" "the mother of Samuel Martini, so often mentioned in our history, was Anna Fradelius, daughter of the dean of Beraun;" "the curate Christopher Lichtner, of Nimes, married Maria, daughter of the curate Heisch, of Reichenberg," &c. That the clergy subject to the archbishop often ventured to marry, is evident from the prohibition of 1605. Clergymen in church offices who contumaciously married, were excommunicated, as were those also who gave advice or approval to such marriages.

That the Catholic hierarchy were seriously alarmed at the increase of Protestantism, has already been seen in the above quoted passages from Pessina. The following extract will make this still more evident:—

"In the meantime," saith the Catholic historian Pelzel, "when the Protestants increased very much in Bohemia,* the principal of the Bohemian and Moravian nobility partly joined the Lutherans and partly the Calvinists, and the Catholic clergy became very uneasy, lest, by degrees, their whole respect and power in Bohemia should be lost; the archbishop of Prague, the Jesuits, the Capuchins, and the Catholic nobility, therefore, constantly dunned the Emperor Rudolph, until by clamorous representations they prevailed upon him to issue severe edicts, that none other religious body should be tolerated in Bohemia

* When Protestants give three-fourths, and Catholics one-third, as the estimate of the non-catholic population, we may venture to consider the middle number between them as the true one, *i. e.* 54 Protestants out of every 100 of the population.

but Catholics and Utraquists only. He then forbad all meetings of the Picards (or Brethren), Calvinists, and Lutherans, among themselves; but especially the Picards and Calvinists, whom he expelled from the country. They were declared incapable of holding public offices, and those who held such offices were deposed. The school named Carmel, established at Jungbunzlau for non-catholic children was demolished, and some churches of the Protestants were either shut up or provided with Catholic clergy. Here was the true origin of all the subsequent wars, disturbances, and bloodshed in Bohemia. For the non-catholic grandees of the country began to hate the Emperor, and contemplated a change that might be more favourable to them; which indeed they afterwards brought about."

That the Catholic priests, nevertheless, should not merely deal with the non-catholics in a blind zeal, is evident from the Synodus Pragensis of 1605. That very important, and certainly rare work in the hands of Protestants, is particularly instructive, and gives us, upon the whole, a better idea than is usually entertained of Bohemian Catholicism. The instructions given to the clergy therein are drawn up with uncommon precision and care, and really contain much that is excellent. These measured prescriptions were, nevertheless, too *severe* for the Catholics and their priests, as Balbinus himself acknowledges: and Pelzel observes, that the way to the Catholic church was thereby rendered more difficult; that, on account of it, the Utraquists entirely

* Though the name of Picards was used for the Brethren by way of reproach and wrongfully, they finally themselves approved of it.

fell away from the Roman church, with which hitherto they were at least allied, and went over to the Lutherans, although they thereby incurred more persecution; and that mistrust, hatred and confusion daily increased. With regard to disputations with non-catholics on the subject of religion, archbishop Sbinko of Berka gives the following instruction:

"When ungodly pretensions of the heretics are to be confuted in the presence of the inexperienced multitude, it ought not to be done by prolix disputation, but by weighty and powerful arguments and proofs from the Holy Scriptures, the venerable councils, approved ancient customs, and the consent of the Catholic fathers. The heretics are by no means to be offended by reproach and abusive language; but their sect and pretended religion are to be disapproved and rejected, as diseased and contrary to the Catholic faith and religion."

The archbishop also determines the persons, besides the clergy, who were expressly to prove their adherence to the Roman Catholic faith, and acknowledge the confession prescribed by Pope Paul IV. in Nov. 1564:—

"Whoever intends to take the degree of doctor, master of arts, or any other, or desires to be admitted as notary, shall be rejected if he has not first acknowledged that confession. Whoever, be it layman or clergyman, practises the occupation of lecturing, expounding and teaching; every physician, and surgeon, or whoever desires to occupy himself with literature and science, even if he only would teach the first principles of grammar as private tutor or schoolmaster; all booksellers, and others exposing books for sale—and also printers, craving permission

for the exercise of their business—all these must give us notice within two months, that they have either already confessed their faith, or would now confess it before us or our officials. And whoever in future shall desire to undertake any of the above-mentioned occupations, must not enter thereon until his Catholic faith has thus been made known. And any one deviating from this confessed faith, forfeits thereby all offices and church ministry, without the power of retracting; and shall not be received by any in this city and diocese, but is immediately to be denounced to us, who will then deal with him according to his deserts."

Every reader may thus form an idea of the embarrassment this anti-reform law occasioned to thousands, even in the year 1605.

It is also represented as the duty of the Roman Catholic nobility, that in governing their subjects, their chief concern should be to maintain and promote the Catholic religion in all places under their dominion; and they are exhorted and enjoined, "for the sake of the mercies of Christ, that in case they have heretics among their vassals, they shall make it their business, with due care and special piety, that they may be brought to their senses, and return to the bosom of holy mother church."

The particular occasion which gave rise to these laws of 1605* was a bull of Pope Clement VIII.

* In that period many in Austria were already favourably inclined towards the Lutheran doctrine, especially among the nobility, and even among the clergy. On this account the states applied to Matthias. See Khevenhiller, vi. 3152, seq. Non-catholic clergymen were then expelled from the country, and Lutheran books were confiscated.

to the Archbishop of Prague, dated 14th of Oct. 1604, which begins thus :—

" To what extent the church clamours in Bohemia have been carried by this time, and what especially is needful for the restoration of the Catholic faith, corrupted there in so many respects, thou knowest best; and we also have lately heard of it from the mouth of many. But according to our pastoral duty, we have long ago taken upon ourselves the care and responsibility, so far as we are able, by the help of God, to destroy and root out heretical errors, and to purify corrupt manners in all provinces and empires, &c."

In accordance with this papal encouragement, and led on by the Jesuits, the above-mentioned archbishop Zbinko or Sbignäus, and George Pontanus, or Von Brück, dean of Prague, all zealously exerted themselves to effect a change of position in the different religious parties in the state; and the Protestants, though their circumstances were apparently improved, had consequently thenceforward to live in suspense and fear, for the storm began to rise higher and higher.

The following account from Jacobäis affords a lively representation of the troubles and sufferings of the evangelical party at that time :—

" The archbishop and the provost of the cathedral joined with some of the secular great men for the suppression of Protestant establishments, and for the restoration of papal order, and so far succeeded, that by a royal edict all the evangelical pastors, under pretence of their belonging to the Calvinists, were expelled from the country. They were declared to be corrupters of souls, heretics and fanatics;

and the offices of these exiles were offered to those who were willing to officiate according to the papal ritual. Daniel Plesnivonz, son of the dean of Horzin, because he had contracted a marriage, was summoned to the royal chancery, then given up to the bishop, by whom he was imprisoned and put in chains, until he signed a bond, no longer to assume the character of church minister in Bohemia. The aged Wenzel, administrator of the evangelical consistory, having on one occasion to defend in the chancery his legitimate and well educated daughter, against a wrong done to her, was seized, cast into the archbishop's prison, and degraded from the administratorship. The annual festivals of the Bohemian Protestant Church, and the commemorative days of Huss and Jerome, were strictly prohibited, since it was natural that on such occasions the circumstances of the reformation should be especially discussed from the pulpits; the Popish senators likewise, on frivolous pretences, called evangelical clergymen and professors from their churches and academical chairs to the chancery of the empire, in order thus to interrupt their speeches on those days. George Loskowitz proceeded to greater extremities, he violently expelled the evangelical clergy of Komothau and its vicinity; and treated the citizens and peasants with much cruelty. Many who were tempted to join the Catholic Church refused, declaring with the apostles, that they ought to obey God rather than man. Some of the Popish party even invented special tortures to compel the evangel cals. Many of them were thrown to the hounds to be worried, some were deprived of their ears and tongues, and others tortured in subterraneous

vaults by incessant showers of water. In the castle of Smeczna the vassals of Jaroslaw Borzitas Martinitz, who refused to take the Lord's supper under one form, had their mouths wrenched open and mangled with iron instruments, and were thus compelled to be partakers of the bread. It was the order of the day to deprive the evangelicals of their property. But to that they patiently submitted, only desiring by exile to escape those tyrannies which were practised in the districts of the papistical lords. At that time there might be seen many newly-built temples, either shut up or levelled with the ground, by special decrees from the chancery. The people were also strictly commanded to attend to the processions and pilgrimages. The printers were all summoned to the castle of Prague, and forbidden, with menaces, ever to serve the evangelicals with their art; to whom, even after death, burial was denied in the churchyards. In fact, whatever tyranny the heathen had formerly employed against the gospel, was now practised for its suppression and destruction."

As the disaffection towards Rudolph increased, the Bohemians refused to assist him in the Turkish war, so that in the year 1606, he was obliged to conclude a disadvantageous peace. Moreover, when his brother Matthias attempted, in 1608, to seize some part of the Austrian states, and a quarrel broke out between them, many of the principal nobles of Bohemia ranged themselves on the side of Matthias. Wenzel Budowa was their leader, who in all their consultations and deliberations began with singing, prayer, and a religious address. Rudolph, however, with the view of appeasing his brother, proposed to

acknowledge him as heir to the throne of Bohemia. The opportunity was seized by the states, chiefly consisting of evangelicals, to propose conditions to the Emperor beforehand; and Budowa drew up fifteen articles, of which the following are the most important: —

"Every one shall be at liberty to partake of the Lord's supper under both forms.* The compactates of Basle, by virtue of which the rest of the Catholic customs are retained, shall again be abolished as in 1577. *Defenders* are to be appointed for the Utraquists and the university. No lord is to force his vassals to join another religion. One party is not to persecute or hate the other. Every one shall be allowed to build churches upon his own land, and to solemnize funerals. No foreigner shall be admitted to the archiepiscopal dignity of Prague, nor to the prelacy. Archbishops and canons are not to meddle in political affairs. Jesuits are not allowed to purchase land, without the consent of the three states, &c."

These articles were immediately approved of, and admitted by 200 lords, 300 knights, and the deputies of the royal cities, with the exception of Pilsen, Budweis, and Kadan. The abovenamed Martinitz brought forward objections; but they threatened to throw him out of the window. Whoever refused his sanction to these articles was to be punished; and if Rudolph would not consent, they resolved to join the party of Matthias. The latter promised, through his speaker, Charles Zierotin, that if he should succeed in forcing the sickly Emperor to abdicate the

* This was decidedly the turning point of the whole struggle at that time, and though it had been long before allowed, yet it was always in jeopardy.

throne, and retreat to the Tyrol, and he himself became king, he would ratify the liberty desired by the states.

The lords and knights then went to the castle, and desired an audience with the Emperor himself. They presented their demands, and did not even leave him time for deliberation and advice, but requiring him to give an immediate answer—*yes* or *no*, constrained him to ratify most of the articles; those regarding religion, though they remained unconfirmed, were at least permitted for the present.

Matthias, however, anxious to become immediately king of Bohemia, was unwilling to wait, and making his appearance before Prague, forced Rudolph to abdicate the government of Hungary and Austria, and to nominate him king of Bohemia; promising at the same time to the states the ratification of their wishes regarding religion.

When Bohemia was thus freed from this contention, Rudolph assembled the states in 1608, in order to regulate the religious affairs of the Protestants. Here the people saw once more their sovereign, who for years had lived in retirement.* The diet was more numerously attended than on any previous occasion; but the Emperor declared that in religious matters he could not deviate from the ancient laws of the kingdom; that only the Catholic religion, including the Utraquists, could be tolerated; and that Maximilian's unwritten promises died with him. Thus the Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren obtained no satisfaction. Among the nobles present

* He occupied himself with chemistry, mechanics, astrology, and other sciences; thus arose remissness and languor in the government, and his person was inaccessible.

in the diet, the principal were Schlik, Thurn, and Budowa. They united with the Utraquists, and presented new petitions, desiring that religious liberty might not be limited so narrowly; but Martinitz, Slawata, and Lobkowitz, urged the Emperor not to listen to them. This caused great altercation, and the diet terminated without the Protestants obtaining their desired object. Their hope was then fixed upon the diet of 1609, and the fermentation that existed in the minds of both parties may easily be imagined. The deputies of Upper Lusatia, however, obtained on the 17th Dec. 1608, an assurance that the Emperor would not allow any injustice to be done them, and that their ecclesiastical affairs should remain as he had found them at the beginning of his reign.

The states of Bohemia, now perceiving that their liberty was endangered, with greater urgency demanded from the Emperor promises of protection. But, in the diet of 1609, they were again answered by the old opposing declarations. This treatment they would no longer endure. In the Neustadt they held warlike meetings, though contrary to express prohibition, appointed thirty directors, and levied soldiers, choosing Henry Thurn, Leonard Fels, and John Bubna, as their leaders. The increase of their troops caused the Emperor great anxiety; for he now found that they were determined to secure religious liberty for themselves, and to leave him without assistance until he should confirm it. They also appointed *defenders*, ten out of each of the three states. The terrified Rudolph held new consultations with his senators; and they advised him, (even Charles Lamberg, archbishop of Prague, among

them,) to comply with the demands of the Protestants; only the chancellor Popel Lobkowitz was against this advice. And the Emperor, to prevent religious wars, and because he also stood in need of their assistance, reluctantly yielded, and granted them a charter whereby their liberties were secured.

An old Latin work, by an eye-witness, gives the following account of the proceedings of this diet.—"It was opened in 1609 on the 28th of January, and dissolved on the 1st of April. On the 16th of May Rudolph signed a decree upon the subject of religion. On the 25th the states were called together a second time. On the 27th the Emperor promised the evangelicals to take ecclesiastical matters in hand before all other business.

"On the 28th the evangelical states assembled, and after an address from Baron Wenzel Budowa, they began, with a petition, to consult upon religious affairs. On the 29th they presented their petition. Count Schlik made a speech in German before the Emperor, thanking him for the mandate published on the 20th of May, and humbly praying his majesty to ratify the presented Bohemian confession, and to give them the consistory and university. On the 30th Leopold Archduke of Austria, and the Bishop of Passau arrived in Prague, to dissuade the Emperor from granting any thing to the evangelical states. On the 1st of June the distressed Emperor returned an answer to the Protestants, with three questions. These were the following.—Whether they perfectly agreed in their religion among themselves,—what church order they maintained,—and what complaints they were about to bring in? But they replied that they all unani-

mously acknowledged the Bohemian confession already presented; that they would arrange "church order" agreeably to the word of God, as soon as the consistory should be given up to them, for the preservation of peace; but would only bring forward their complaints when their religious affairs should be settled. On the 16th new complaints were brought in against the high officers of the kingdom. On the following day the Bishop of Breslau opposed the Protestant states. But Thurn prayed the Emperor by all means to grant them religious liberty; as he could not sufficiently represent the evils which must ensue in case of a refusal. The Emperor then read their petition with great attention, and on the 9th of July a charter was drawn up, ratified by the great seal of the empire —a more solemn assurance than the mere verbal promise of Maximilian."

Two old contemporary writings on these diets of 1608 and 1609 deserve to be inserted here, partly as curiosities, but chiefly, as means of obtaining a better insight into the circumstances of that time. After these the charter itself will be given.

The first of the documents* referred to contains the petition of "the three states of the kingdom of Bohemia, those who receive the body and blood of the Lord under both forms," who "solicit, in all humbleness and subjection his imperial majesty, as

* Entitled "Fundamental and detailed account of what has been granted and settled by the three states of the kingdom of Bohemia, in the presence of the Emperor Rudolph, &c. in the general diet, at Prague, held in the castle there, on Monday after Exaudi, and Friday after St. John the Baptist, 1608, translated into the German, 40 pages, Leipzig."

king of Bohemia, that they may abide by the general Bohemian (by some called Augsburg) confession, described in the general diet of 1575, as also by the subjoined and settled agreement, at that time made between the parties, and presented to his majesty the Emperor Maximilian, of very happy memory; that none other should interfere with it, but that, according to the same, they may order their priesthood both in the Bohemian and German languages; and that the ordained, without the hindrance of the archbishop or any one else, may be appointed by the lords, knights, and citizens to their several livings, in order that thereby they may not be bound to the observance of the *compactates*, which were left out of the privileges of the country in the diet of 1577, when the states were freed from their observance; that no edicts, whence ever they might proceed, may have power or be valid against that confession, or the agreement of the states *sub utraque*, and that his imperial majesty may graciously deign to command that the said confession and agreement of the states be deposited in the register office. This humble request rests upon the consideration, that the states do not in this case solicit his imperial majesty concerning anything *new*, but that which has already been graciously granted by the Emperor Maximilian, of happy and hallowed memory, in the diet of 1575; which also, if his imperial majesty had not been suddenly called away by God Almighty, would have been entered in the register office, as many persons among the states still alive, soliciting his majesty's ratification of this confession and agreement, can bear witness with a good conscience, besides

others who have already deposed to the truth of these things in the register office.

"The states also very humbly crave his imperial majesty's permission, that they may choose from among themselves *defenders* for the administration of the consistory, according to the decision of the diet of 1575. In the same manner they pray the academy of Prague may remain under the management of the states *sub utraque;* and as the higher free states, so neither may the cities, market-towns, and the common peasants, contrary to the plain laws of the country, be forced by their superiors to join another religion. Likewise, that the bells, burials, and edification in God's houses may be granted, not to some only, but to all, as persons who have been baptized in the name of the Trinity, (be they *sub una* or *sub utraque*), for a closer relationship among themselves, for the sake of maintaining unity and love, and of enjoying equal liberty; inasmuch as one party should assist the other, without respect of persons in religion; there should also be mutual forbearance, so that one should not despise another. Since it has never been known that those *sub utraque* have forced to their religion those of the *sub una;* for they are not ignorant that faith is the gift of God; therefore in future the exercise of religion, and the burial of the dead shall no longer be denied to citizens on account of differences in religious views; and by virtue of this confession the cities of the kingdom shall be enabled to have their pastors ministering under both forms in the Bohemian, German, and other languages; and in the same manner those *sub una* shall be at liberty to the contrary, as the articles more distinctly express and contain.

" Though nothing would please his imperial majesty more than that those articles concerning religion should have been sufficiently weighed, and as necessity requires discussed in the diet, the states very humbly and confidently expect, and chiefly pray, that the principal article, on the communion under both forms, may be entirely and satisfactorily granted in all its points, and clauses, according as it has been presented to his imperial majesty, and in compliance with the humble request of the states; that it be immediately ratified by his imperial majesty, in the present diet, without further delay; and this with the repeated consideration that herein the states request no *new* thing, but what has been granted them in the diet of 1575 by his majesty the Emperor Maximilian, his imperial majesty's beloved lord and father, of praiseworthy and hallowed memory, in the presence of his imperial majesty, our present most gracious lord. The states *sub utraque* still retain an undoubted and perfect confidence towards his imperial majesty, that he will sanction the above-mentioned confession, and the subjoined agreement made by the states *sub utraque* among themselves, with the most gracious consent of his imperial majesty the Emperor Maximilian, of hallowed memory, in the 75th diet. But since because of the present *great trouble*, on account of which these states have been convened, and which does not permit any further delay, his imperial majesty is unable to ratify it at this time, and wishes to postpone it, the states are ready to comply with that desire, until the next diet, to be held on the Thursday before Martini, which has been nominated and appointed with the concurrence of his imperial majesty.

His imperial majesty has likewise agreed with the states of the kingdom, that in case this religious affair cannot be settled in the diet, the states *sub utraque* are not bound to discuss any article proposed by his imperial majesty, or to consult or treat about it, until the question of religion shall have been previously discussed and determined. But in the mean time, while the affair of religion remains unsettled, and hence not concluded in a public diet, then, agreeably to his imperial majesty's protestation made in this diet, through the chief burgrave of Prague, no one without exception, belonging to the three states of this kingdom of Bohemia, whether *sub utraque* or *sub una*, not even the vassals, shall be troubled or distressed for their christian profession, by any man, whether clerical or lay, by edict or otherwise, but the said states *sub utraque* are to follow and practise freely and without hindrance their religion.

" Whereas it is also reasonable that in this respect there should exist an equality among the states of this kingdom; therefore,—to prevent many other disorders and mischiefs growing out of this,—the states and inhabitants of the country *sub una* shall also be left (like the states *sub utraque*) with their people, clergy, churches, and benefices to their Christian worship, in the quiet practice and exercise of the same, together with their accustomed church ritual, without derogation, so that no one shall in any imaginable way, hinder, trouble, or burden them. And if either the one or the other party should be willing to bring forward something further on this point in the next diet, they are at liberty to do so, with this express condition, however, that it must

not be contrary to the resolution passed by his imperial majesty for the *sub utraque*, through the chief burgrave of Prague, and the established agreement of the states."

The following, from the pen of a contemporary, is also worthy of attention, with regard to those singular times.

"Two letters sent from the Bohemian diet, held at two different times, namely, on the 28th of January and the 25th of May of the present year, 1609, in which religious matters have been transacted."*

"My kind and specially dear friends,—Though you have doubtless already learned from other quarters how the last Bohemian diet of this present year 1609, ended on the 1st of April, in *puncto religionis*, I still trust that the following brief account of the same will not be tedious, coming from one who has personally attended, and been an eye-witness of the proceedings. In the first place, the Papists have spared no pains to instil a bitter hatred into the mind of his imperial majesty against the evangelical states, and produce dissension among them; and to reject, annul, and destroy, all that his majesty promised them in the diet of last year with respect to religious affairs. But since they dared not venture upon the word of God, they brought against the Confession of the states some abrogated diets, and the assurance of the late Emperor Maximilian, and persuaded his imperial majesty that the law of the country and the royal oath extended only to those *sub utraque*, whose priests

* The above letters are to be found in the royal library at Dresden.

are ordained by the archbishop of Prague and who acknowledge the Pope of Rome as supreme head, holding moreover all things alike with him, excepting the use of the cup in the supper, wherefore they are called Calixtines, otherwise Hussites; and even that that permission had only been granted them during the interim and per conniventiam, or by special kindness and indulgence, *for a certain time*. For this purpose they also referred to the oath, whereby all priests connected with the archiepiscopal consistory are subject to the archbishop.

" But since that interpretation proved grievous to the evangelical states, as nothing of the kind could be found either in the laws of the country or in the royal oath, they laid before his imperial majesty their detailed documents and proofs, through a deputation, at the head of which was lord Joachim Andreas Schlik, and in a speech delivered by him in the German language, he most humbly prayed his imperial majesty not to believe those who misrepresent the evangelical states, and moreover misconstrue both the law of the country and the royal oath; since the oath of the king and that of his subjects are *res reciprocæ*, and the one is so dependent upon the other, that if one of them fall, both the head and the member (which God forbid) become exposed to utter destruction. But when his imperial majesty referred the states, in this case, to the chief officers of the empire (allied to the papal religion), and they could obtain no justice from that quarter, they began to consider the matter more maturely, and when they found the great danger to which they were exposed, with regard to their persons, estates, wives, children and vassals, and that the opposite party

were endeavouring to render them outlaws, they were compelled to bring forward a protestation in the diet, and have it publicly read; in which they appointed a meeting on the 4th of May, to be held in the town-hall of the new town of Prague; and in a discourse delivered by a Bohemian gentleman, lord Wenzeslaw baron of Budowitz, they more fully declared, that *protestation* to be intended for the good of his imperial majesty, and the peace and security of the whole kingdom; and also that his majesty might be better informed and duly cautioned, lest both king and kingdom should be brought into most imminent peril through his unreasonable counsellors.

"Wherefore, as soon as the diet was over, the various evangelical states despatched their legates in all directions, to the magnates of Hungary, and also to the dukes and electors of Germany. The sentiments expressed upon this subject were various; many wise and good men, judged it to be a praiseworthy undertaking; but others condemned it as rebellion: yet report says, that when the protest was handed to his imperial majesty, he complained much of the inconsiderate advice of his counsellors. In consequence of this, and for the security of his imperial and royal authority and dignity, he immediately summoned the states by a public mandate, for another diet to be held in the castle of Prague, on the very day which the evangelical states had fixed for an assembly in the town-hall. In this the religious points were to be discussed. As the proposal was in itself good, wholesome and well-intended, the states were ready to meet it with subjection. But some intriguing spi-

rits, neither concerned about the welfare of his imperial majesty, nor the kingdom, withheld the mandate which had been drawn up, and substituted for it another, in which they violently accused and reproached the evangelical states, because of the assembly they had appointed to be held in the town-hall, for they judged it to be nothing less than rebellion and insurrection against the Emperor.

" The consternation which ensued on the publication of this edict is indescribable. The states had already felt themselves aggrieved and injured in not obtaining a satisfactory answer to their petition—but now they were also accused of the crime of rebellion.

" Wherefore, in order to stop the mouths of those perverse men, and prove their loyalty to the Emperor, instead of assembling on the appointed day in the town-hall of Prague, they humbly prayed his imperial majesty to grant them a room in the castle, wherein they might meet, to draw up in writing their apology, and arrange their defence against the charges brought against them; where also they might hear their legates, who had been sent with intercessory letters to the magnates of Hungary and the electors and princes of the empire. This was refused; and they immediately proceeded to the town-hall in such numbers as had never been seen before; but as the night was approaching they agreed to meet on the following morning at seven o'clock.

" The proceedings commenced by lord Budowitz impressing on their minds the importance of the business on hand, and exhorting them to fervent prayer an unwavering confidence in God; they then sang

the usual hymn, *Veni sancte spiritus*, in the Bohemian tongue, with such fervour and devotion, that the majority wept, not only of those who were in the town-hall, but also a large number who were assembled below in the market. In the mean-time a report was spread, that a large body of musketeers was advancing to surprise them and slay them to the last man. Notwithstanding this there was not the least fear perceptible among the states, but they all went immediately into the open square, and mounting their horses, exhorted one another to withstand the enemy manfully, as it was God's cause, who would doubtless know how to protect it and them.

" When the horse, amounting to 1200, together with the foot and archers, amounting to 300, besides about 10,000 citizens, armed with all sorts of weapons, swords, darts, poles, and stones, were reduced to order, the sun in the clear noonday was suddenly surrounded with a beautiful circle or rainbow, which was hailed as a special sign of the presence of God among them. After exhorting each other to firmness and unshaken reliance upon the protection of Divine Providence, a few seniors, or elders, proceeded to the town-hall to consult about the necessary arrangements, and the rest stood upon guard. But they had scarcely entered the hall, when some came from the castle, announcing that his imperial majesty had resolved to send a deputation to the states; and accordingly, soon after the chief Catholic state officers arrived, with the high chancellor, and the burgrave lord Adam Sternberg bearing the imperial message. Surprised at the warlike appearance and disposition of the great concourse of nobles and

populace, he tremblingly and amid much murmuring thus addressed the states,—'His imperial majesty is astonished at this uproar, which he had never expected; but rather he held and believed all the evangelical states assembled here in the town-hall to be his beloved and faithful subjects; and as the states are bound to his majesty as their king, in duty and fidelity, so likewise his majesty acknowledges himself bound, in reciprocal fidelity, to them; and has therefore determined to appoint another diet for the discussion of religious matters.'

"The states then retired for a short time, and after consultation, sent a reply through lord Budowitz. They first returned their humble thanks to his imperial majesty, desiring to be understood, that they entertained no such thoughts respecting his majesty as had been charged against them; but what had hitherto happened they ascribed to a few wicked, peace-hating, intriguing counsellors, who under pretence of maintaining the Catholic religion had already caused the loss of various provinces, and were now attempting to produce a disunion of this kingdom by a division among the states. Those individuals they (the states) would soon make known by name. But as regarded another convocation, they prayed that it might be held within three days, lest, on account of those designing men, the delay should become injurious both to his majesty and the states. When the imperial delegates had retired, the sun was observed for the second time that day to be encircled with a rainbow. The states then proceeded again to the town-hall, where they held a conference among

themselves, concluding with prayer and praise. When they retired, the rainbow was again seen around the sun, which then was deemed beyond all doubt an express sign of the presence of God with his people; even as a manifestation of the Sun of righteousness, the Lord Jesus Christ, surrounded with the token of God's mercy. This happened on the 9th of May.

"During the succeeding week the delegates returned from the king of Hungary, and from the electors and princes, and being heard were referred to a new convocation of the states.

"In the meantime a rumour was spread abroad that the college of Jesuits and other convents were filled with military, and that the perverse primate Heydelius had 400 armed musketeers in the town-house of the Alt-stadt. Towards evening it was stated that a party of these soldiers of Heydelius had surprised and plundered the houses of some respectable citizens. On hearing this the states proceeded instantly to the town-hall with 500 horse, and finding there a few musketeers and archers, they disarmed some, and the rest throwing down their weapons took to flight.

"The states then sent delegates to the chief bailiff, Prockozosky, among whom was lord Budowitz. By order of his imperial majesty, they were detained to dinner, and treated with great marks of distinction; besides which, the highest assurances of kindness were held out to the states, and fair promises made that the agitators and seditious ringleaders should be punished. But as the delegates stayed somewhat longer than had been expected, a sudden and groundless rumour was spread, that lord Bu-

dowitz had been made prisoner. Whereupon the states immediately mounted their horses, and hastily gathered a force for the purpose of rescuing him. In the meantime Budowitz and the delegates returned safely, and declared how graciously his imperial majesty was disposed towards the states, so that they would soon perceive him to be not merely a king, but even a father. Thus the tumult was calmed and the people dispersed.

" In the evening of the same day a report was circulated that the captain Monsieur Ramé* had prepared a petard, with which he intended to surprise some house of the higher classes; upon which a violent uproar took place in the city, and guards were posted in various parts. In the morning the states vehemently remonstrated with the imperial officers, and demanded that a stop should be put to these rebellious beginnings, adding that they were aware such things did not take place with the foreknowledge and sanction of his imperial majesty, but only proceeded from some restless men, who desired to take advantage of the confusion. The whole week passed in disquietude and danger, and the common people especially were anxious rather to prevent the apprehended ruin than to be suddenly overtaken by it; and since they could not be restrained by the counsel of the elders and the precaution of the armed states, it was feared they would assault the college of the Jesuits, who were the chief cause of all the disquietude and uproar.

" In the succeeding days, a few deputies from both sides met together, and somewhat more peace-

* Laur. de Ramé was, in 1611, leader of the savage auxiliary troops of Passau.

able transactions ensued. An imperial edict, by which the previous one was entirely annulled, was now published and posted on the town-hall, amidst general cheers and rejoicing. On the same day the Persian embassy obtained an audience of his majesty; and an edict for the settlement of religious affairs was also published. At the same time the states, after an excellent speech and exhortation from lord Budowitz, in the town-hall, returned thanks to God with fervent and humble prayers, concluding with Bohemian and German psalms and hymns.

" The following is the substance of the imperial edict: His imperial majesty, having received the apology of the evangelical states, desires that the mandate heretofore published, be abrogated and abolished; that *all* the evangelical states acknowledging the Bohemian Confession, be understood as included in the law of the country, and that the royal oath be equally extended to all the states; that he held the evangelical states excused, since the meeting appointed to be held in the town-hall of the new town, was intended for the welfare of his majesty and the empire, and thus had not opposed itself to his majesty. Wherefore his imperial majesty has appointed the 26th of May for the day on which a diet shall be held in the castle of Prague for the discussion of the subject of religion and other common grievances, with the observation, that the states are to proceed thither in peace and security without levying any foreigners; his majesty on his part being resolved not to permit foreign levies to be introduced into his kingdom.

" The meetings of the states in the town-hall of Prague above-mentioned, bore at all times the cha-

racteristics of a christian assembly. All their transactions were begun with psalms and spiritual songs in the Bohemian and German languages, and concluded in the same devotional manner, besides an address from lord Budowa* to the whole assembly, earnestly exhorting them to the fear of God, to sobriety and watchfulness, as also constancy and steadfastness in divine truth; to do and preserve everything for the welfare of his imperial majesty, and all others; whereby they might be able to remove the injurious counsellors from the offices which they held. Every thing indeed was so conducted by the states and the common people, that during many years, even from the time of Huss, there had not been seen and felt such zeal in this kingdom of Bohemia.

"What I may now omit to describe to you, I have no doubt the evangelical Bohemian states, as those to whom the whole course of things is circumstantially known, as they happened daily, will with special assiduity put down in writing, in a complete work, in order to communicate and declare them to the churches of God. May the almighty and true God graciously sustain and increase this zeal of his people, for the promotion of his divine truth, and the salvation of the souls of many!"

The second letter runs thus:—"We now likewise communicate to you, what has since happened at Prague in the late diet. The states assembled on the 25th of May in the castle of Prague, as the place appointed for the meeting, but the publication

* Budowa was a very religious man belonging to the "Bohemian Brethren."

of the imperial edict was put off until the 27th, when the following propositions were read; namely, that in virtue of the newly published mandate, his imperial majesty desires that religious affairs be before all other things first taken in hand and determined; then a large contribution was demanded of the states. After this, the evangelical states alone assembled on the 28th of May in the usual place; and after an exhortation from lord Wenzeslaw Budowitz, baron of Budowa, and they had fallen upon their knees, they began their consultation upon the proposed business of the diet with devotional prayers. On the 29th they presented to his imperial majesty a supplication, on which occasion Count Joachin Andreas Schlik addressed his majesty, thanking him for the edict, published on the 30th of May, (of which I have lately written to you), and humbly praying that his imperial majesty, in virtue of that edict, would ratify the Bohemian Confession already presented, and restore to the evangelical states the consistory and the university of Prague, both which had belonged to them from the time of Huss. On the following day, the archduke Leopold, and the bishop of Passau, arrived in Prague, for the purpose, as was suspected, of persuading his imperial majesty not to yield in any religious matters to the evangelical states. In consequence of this, on the 1st of June, the Emperor issued a rescript, desiring to know—1. Whether all the evangelical states agreed in one religion? 2. What order and ceremonies they intended to maintain? 3. What grievances or common points of complaint they had to bring in?

"In the meantime, while this imperial mandate

was publicly read, a number of priests of Prague came, who formerly were subject to the archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and primarily declaring themselves satisfied with the Bohemian Confession, complained bitterly of the papal yoke by which they had hitherto been sorely oppressed, and prayed to be received under the protection of the evangelical states. Their number afterwards increased, so that two only remained, with the administrator, who had been promoted to that office by the chancellor Lord Poppel (Lobkowitz), and both of these men were of infamous life, more inclined to epicurism and atheism than to christianity.

" Having obtained an audience of his imperial majesty on the 3rd of June, the evangelical states presented a written answer through their delegates, accompanied with a verbal address in the German language, by Count Schlik, to the following effect: namely, that the states were astonished to find it had been intimated to his imperial majesty that they *disagreed* in religious opinions among themselves, since that accusation had already been provided against and refuted by the presentation of the Bohemian Confession. They declared that they all adhered to it, and acknowledged the doctrines contained therein, and by the grace of God were determined, with common consent, constantly to abide by it. As regarded their intended order and ceremonies, they designed, as soon as the consistory and university should be restored to them, duly to submit to the word of God, and this their Confession which was founded on it, by means of a Christian order to be established suitable to the general weal. They

also expressed their readiness to bring in their grievances and complaints as soon as the affairs of religion should be finally determined.

" On the 4th of June the evangelical states complained to the catholic states, through lord Budowitz, of the delays created by these unnecessary questions, believing them contrived only for the purpose of producing weariness and disgust, as well as needless expense.

" On the 5th of June the imperial rescript was issued, wherein his majesty declared his willingness to leave the religion of the Evangelicals in form and manner as it was observed in the times of the emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian, and also during the present reign. The dissatisfaction, murmuring, and impatience which followed the reading of this resolution is inexpressible. It was found so diametrically opposite to the imperial mandate and the last decision of the diet, published on the 20th of May, that they unanimously declared his imperial majesty had been instigated to issue it by the violent enemies of the evangelical states; in order that the religious affairs of the country might be placed upon the same footing as they had been during the reign of previous kings; and that not honey, but mere gall, might be drawn from it; since the Emperor Ferdinand, reckoning upon the power of Charles V., dispossessed many of the nobles of their estates, and others he even deprived of their lives, for the sake of religion. That though under the Emperor Maximilian, a pious and praiseworthy king, the assurance was given of religious liberty, and the admission of the Bohemian Confession, yet in the diet of Ratisbon in 1575,

when his majesty was taken ill, a mandate directly opposed to that assurance had been issued, doubtless without his knowledge; and also in the lifetime of the present Emperor Rudolph, especially of late years under the chancellor Poppel, when the chancery had been transformed into a consistory. Wherefore, as the result of the mandates issued against the Evangelicals has been to his majesty the loss of Transylvania, Wallachia, Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, the states demand, not an equivocal, but an unalterable and express resolution.

"A committee was then formed for drawing up an answer to his imperial majesty; and on the same day the Catholic states, and especially the chief burgrave and other officers of the empire, were requested by the Evangelicals to tell them,—whether they intended to carry out what had been decided in the diet of the preceding year, with consent of his majesty and of both catholic and evangelical states, and which had been also established by the imperial mandate? Whether also, in case any one, contrary to the above-mentioned decision of the diet, should hinder them in the exercise of their religion, or should act in enmity against them, or molest them by public or secret ill-will,—they would hold and declare such an one and his assistants, agreeably to the constitution of the country, to be open enemies of the kingdom, and assist, by the help of God, to contend against such? To this the chief burgrave replied, that in such a case his imperial majesty alone would be excepted. To which again lord Budowitz answered, that his majesty was at all times excepted, as was evident in their supplications, so that the fault may be only ascribed to *a few* evil-

disposed clerical and secular Catholics, who seek the damage of the Emperor and this kingdom, with all its inhabitants, and are perhaps planning to introduce foreign troops in furtherance of their own ambitious designs. Wherefore, if any one should make such an attempt against the evangelical states, though under the appearance of his majesty's sanction, were they, the catholic states, willing to take up arms in their defence? On their part, the evangelicals were ready faithfully to promise, if any should attempt to molest them, the Catholics, in the exercise of their religion, or attack them, they would with all their strength and power defend them. On this point they required them to declare themselves positively, and without any evasive or doubtful conditions, before they separated; that the evangelical states might know and be sure the Catholics were in earnest in their intention to preserve and maintain inviolably the laws and rights of the land, together with the aforesaid decision of the diet and imperial mandate;—whether in fact they were to consider them as their *friends* or their *foes?*

"Then, after a lingering tergiversation, and all kinds of evasion, at the urgent solicitation of Lord Budowitz, in the name of all the evangelical states, the Catholics, in their own name and in the name of those belonging to them (as is the custom in those diets), categorically answered "*Yes*,"—to the extraordinary delight and applause of the whole assembly. It was further required of them, that they should declare, whether the imperial rescript was issued by their counsel and assistance? Which, when they had denied, in the presence of the high chancellor, lord Budowitz asked him, whether that resolution

had been passed with his knowledge and by his counsel? He replied, that that resolution had been delivered to him by his imperial majesty, from whom he *then* learned its contents, and not before. Then lord Budowitz resumed the subject, and in the name of the evangelical states, wanted to know, not from whom he received the resolution, but whether he attended the deliberation and consultation about it? But as he could not elicit a direct answer from him upon this point, he declared, in the name of the states, that they considered him to be the chief author of the present opposition in the kingdom against the laws and rights of the country, and against the decision of the diet and the imperial mandate; hence then the evangelical states would bring in their complaints *in due time* against him, as an enemy of the king. Consequently, on the same day, having obtained an audience of his imperial majesty, they made their complaints, through their delegates, against those who had persuaded his imperial majesty to such a resolution; adding a strong protestation, "that if his imperial majesty would have any further regard to such malignant counsels, and allow himself to be led away by them, then the states, for the good of his majesty and the general tranquillity, would be constrained to devise among themselves an organized and public means for the defence of the country."

"On the 15th of June, lord Budowitz declared in a full assembly of the states, all that had occurred between himself and the Catholics, especially the high chancellor; and also what had been laid before his imperial majesty. On the same day ambassadors arrived at Prague from Silesia.

" On the 16th, lord Budowitz, in the name of the states and their committee, lodged a complaint in the chancery against the catholic high officers of the empire, for having, contrary to the rights and custom of the kingdom, committed certain important affairs relating to Bohemia, to the consultation of foreign potentates.

" On the 17th the Silesian ambassadors were introduced to the evangelical states, when Dr. Andreas spoke for about an hour to the following effect, namely—that since the Silesian princes and states had been informed by the Bohemian ambassadors of their well-founded and legitimate complaints, they could not in return do otherwise than make their own grievances known to them in this diet; as they also had received from his imperial majesty questionable resolutions based upon many conditions. That hence it was that the archduke Charles bishop of Presslaw made known his intention to tolerate no one within his jurisdiction, who was not of his religion (which hitherto no emperor had dared to do), and the Evangelicals were forced by the Catholics to give up possession of their churches, vicarages, and schools, under the pretence, that all those institutions had formerly belonged to them. And that in all this the Catholics constitute themselves both complainants and judges, and refuse to be restrained or hindered by the imperial decision, which declares that every one is to remain unmolested in his possessions; they sought also to deprive the Evangelicals of the privilege of appealing to the Emperor. Therefore the Silesians requested, that the Bohemian states might, together with them, zealously and firmly unite to further this christian work by his

imperial majesty; that they might not, as hitherto, receive doubtful, but clear and positive resolutions; for it was greatly to be feared that the Catholics, after the example exhibited in the city of Troppau, would disseminate still farther their poison among all Evangelicals; which apprehended evil and misery ought to be met and prevented.—To this they received a friendly answer, with many thanks.

"After the Silesian ambassadors had been dismissed, a Franciscan friar named Caspar Felix, procurator of his order in the new town of Prague, came and presented himself; in whose behalf the noble lord Joachim Techenitz represented, in the Bohemian tongue, that through the light and power of divine grace, and in answer to constant and fervent prayer to God, he had been brought to know in what error and ignorance of his salvation he had hitherto been kept, and that after he had read the Bohemian confession of the evangelical states, he had found and recognized its agreement with the word of God; wherefore, not in despair, but in a sober, strong and lively hope in Christ; not for temporal gain, but for the sake of heavenly and eternal life, he had laid down his friar's order and the popish doctrines, as those enlightened and excellent men and instruments of God, Martin Luther, Calvin and Beza, before had done; and therefore he prayed that they, the evangelical states, would take him under their protection. To whom the states replied, through lord Budowitz, that they rejoiced to hear that the ever-merciful God had called labourers to his vineyard, even in the last hour, graciously giving them an equal reward, according to his good pleasure in and through Christ and for his sake; so that it is now just as it

was in the time of Elias, when the prophet knew not those whom God had preserved for his own service; that thus the prophet Ezekiel saw in a vision those who at Jerusalem sighed over all the abominations of that city, and had for that purpose received the mark, that is, the pledge of the Holy Spirit. And this being now the case with him, he is, consequently, not only according to his name *Felix*, i. e. *happy*, but is to be considered as most happy; such a gift of God is, however, to be constantly stirred up by assiduous reading and hearing of the Scriptures, by fervent prayer and a holy life; that he may unceasingly continue in christian constancy and firmness: the states, therefore, are willing to take him under their protection and care.

"In consequence of this, the university and council of Prague posted up public decrees, in the name of his imperial majesty, signed by the high chancellor Poppel, in which those priests who acknowledged the Bohemian Confession are ordered, under severe penalties, to join the procession on the following corpus-christi day, and to fall down before the pix.*

"The Evangelicals immediately proceeded to the chancery in great numbers, and demanded of the officers whether that decree had been issued with the knowledge and desire of them all? And as they signified that they knew nothing about it, the chancellor was referred to and asked, why he ordered it to be written, and why he signed it? His reply

* A little chest or box in which the consecrated host is kept in papal countries. This brings to mind what the Protestants were desired to do at Augsburg in 1530, when the Emperor was present.

was, that he had done it by command of his imperial majesty. Lord Budowitz then said, it was incredible, at the present important crisis, that the emperor should have thought of it; but that he himself must have been the contriver of it; and even if the emperor ignorantly, at the instigation of others, did command such decrees to be made, which are contrary to the decision of the last diet and the imperial mandate published on the 20th of last May, it ought to have been his business, as the high chancellor of the land, to remind his imperial majesty not to promulgate or publish anything contrary to his previous resolutions. But as he had not done so, the fault must not to be ascribed to the emperor, but to him, the chancellor, alone. Hence, it was he who was the chief disturber of the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom; and consequently, neither the priests nor the citizens of Prague were bound to obey the decree, nor would they obey it.

"The chancellor maintained, that no one could ever be able to prove him to be the disturber of the general peace. To this lord Budowitz observed, that the subject would be brought before the next diet, when he would receive an answer; as was afterwards really the case. For when the Catholic high officers of state, with the chancellor, were summoned before the diet, lord Budowitz fully proved, that the evangelical states had said nothing of him, the chancellor, but what was perfectly true, and that he was an enemy, not only to them, but also to the general tranquillity and peace. He also solemnly protested, that if those men did not cease from contriving public and private mischief against the Evangelicals and the whole Bohemian

state, and no protection were afforded them by the emperor; to a certainty the evangelical states would be forced to think of admissible and legitimate means for the defence of the country, on behalf of the emperor and the whole kingdom.

"Then it was rumoured, that the high chancellor Poppel had held various meetings in Prague with the chancellor of the duke of Bavaria, who afterwards returned to Bavaria, for the purpose, as was asserted, of raising against Bohemia a powerful force, with the assistance of the Pope and the Spaniards, the bishop of Salzburg, and the archduke Ferdinand of Grätz.

"There was likewise read a copy of a letter to his imperial majesty, written by Count Thurn, an eminent warrior, in which he, as a faithful subject, humbly prayed and exhorted his majesty to take into consideration what he had advised before the insurrection of Botschkai. It contained also salutary exhortations that he should ratify the decisions of the previous diet, and the mandate lately published;* for in case this should not be done it was impossible to tell what misfortunes might follow. This letter, it is said, the emperor read very carefully. God Almighty grant, in his mercy, that his majesty may give heed to those various, wholesome, and godly exhortations and warnings; that he may not bring destruction upon himself and those belonging to him.

"On the 18th of June, being the popish corpus-christi day, the priests of Prague, who had formerly been connected with the consistory of the archbishop, notwithstanding the severe threatenings of the imperial decree, and the verbal declarations of the high chancellor, not only absented them-

* Against the influx of foreigners.

selves from the procession, but preached publicly against it, and fully proved from the word of God what a horrible thing it is to pay divine honour and worship to that which is not God, since God had sworn by himself, that to His name alone every knee should bow.

" It is impossible to describe the rage of the Catholics in consequence of the reformation thus begun by the priests of Prague. God grant that the work may terminate to the glory of his holy name, and the salvation and happiness of many. Amen."

The Bohemian Charter itself, the great object of the struggles of the evangelical states, and which they obtained at this time from the Emperor Rudolph, is highly worthy of a place here.*

" We, Rudolph II, by the grace of God chosen emperor of Rome, perpetual augmenter of the empire,† king of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, &c. &c. declare and make known to all men by virtue of this letter: Since all the three states of our kingdom of Bohemia, who receive the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under both forms, our dear and faithful subjects, most humbly and respectfully petitioned us in the diet held at the castle of Prague, in the last year of our Lord, 1608, on Monday after Exaudi, and concluded in the same year on Friday after the commemoration day of St. John the Baptist:—That the general Bohemian Confession, by some also called the Augsburg Confession,

* After the German translation of John Borott, from the genuine parchment manuscript in the town library at Zittau.

† A whimsical but legal translation of *semper Augustus*, a title of the Emperor of Germany.

drawn up in the general diet of the year 1575, and presented to his majesty the Emperor Maximilian, of glorious and venerable memory, our beloved lord and father, (which also was confirmed by his majesty, as we have been pleased to learn from his imperial majesty, our most beloved lord and father's letter, under his sign manual, and as it is even evidenced by some remarkable documents found in the registry); and also that the agreement made among themselves, as contained in the preface to the said confession; and moreover that the petitions regarding religion annexed thereto, might be confirmed, and the free, peaceful, and undisturbed exercise of their Christian religion under both forms granted to them. All which has been ratified to the states by us, as the whole of their religious matter, and their request transacted in the said diet more fully testify and is made evident by that which, respecting the diet, is found entered minutely in the green quarterne of the general diets of the year 1608, on Monday after Exaudi, under the letter K δ.

" But since on account of other important affairs which could not be put off, and for the sake of which that diet was held, we were at that time unable to publish the ratification of the abovementioned business, and graciously required an adjournment, for the further settlement thereof, to the diet appointed to be held on Thursday before St. Martin's day; and should this not be concluded in the general diet to the extent desired by the states *sub utraque*, we in the meantime secure to them the privilege of exercising their religion according to their own conscience; and until the

complete settlement of that matter, which for the time is postponed, they shall not be bound to accede to any further mandate, whatever proposition it may contain, nor to treat upon anything connected therewith, as our request and this our provision more fully prove.

" But since the diet, which according to previous arrangement had been appointed for Thursday before St. Martin's day, was for certain reasons adjourned, and another, according to our mandate, appointed to be held at the castle of Prague on Tuesday after St. Paul's conversion to the Christian faith; and moreover, the states *sub utraque* again presented to us the said Confession, and the agreement made among themselves, and ceased not to solicit us, both by their own continued and most humble petitions, as well as by illustrious and important intercession, that we should graciously comply with the desire of the said states *sub utraque*, our beloved and faithful subjects :—therefore having with our high officers, sheriffs, and counsellors of the kingdom of Bohemia, taken all this into our imperial and royal consideration, and in compliance with the humble petition of the said knights, the delegates of Prague and other cities, from the three states of our kingdom of Bohemia, who partake of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under both forms, and acknowledge themselves to adhere to the abovementioned Confession, our beloved faithful subjects; we were pleased to call together by our mandate a general diet, to be held at the castle of Prague on the Monday after Rogation Sunday of this year one thousand six hundred and nine; and, among the general

orders given, we could not forbear adding, that we intended to present the matter of religion hitherto adjourned, for the decision of that diet; and also to consider in what way all and each, both of the party *sub una*, as also of the party *sub utraque*, and those who acknowledge themselves as adhering to the Confession presented to us, might exercise their religion without hindrance and oppression, whether from clerical or secular persons, according as it is expressed with regard to the abovementioned articles, in our mandates from the castle of Prague, dated Saturday after Jubilate, of this year one thousand six hundred and nine.

"Since the three states are now obediently and humbly assembled in the general diet appointed by us, and we have likewise been pleased, according to our said mandate, to give our gracious assurance that this article regarding religion shall occupy the first place in the propositions to be laid before them, the abovementioned three states *sub utraque* have again renewed their petition previously presented to us, and have humbly prayed for efficient security and ratification thereof in the chancery of the country.

"Since, moreover, it is our desire that now and in future there shall exist among the three states perfect love, peace, and unity, for the preservation and advancement of the general welfare and happiness of this kingdom, our dear and faithful subjects, both those *sub utraque* and those *sub una*; so that each party shall be permitted, without hindrance or oppression, to exercise their religion; and in order that (as is reasonable) effect shall be given to the decision of the diet of the year one thousand six hundred and eight, as also to our general mandate,

in which we publicly declared, and do now declare, the united states *sub utraque* who acknowledge themselves to adhere to the abovementioned Confession to be, what they always were, our faithful, obedient subjects under our gracious protection, who participate in all regulations, rights, and liberties of this kingdom, over which our regal duty and powers extend; and this we do, from regard not only to the above-mentioned intercessions, but also to the manifold and urgent entreaties of the states *sub utraque* themselves, and out of respect for and in consideration of many faithful and important services diligently rendered to us by them during our happy reign.

" For all these and many other causes, and after mature and serious deliberation, in conjunction with the counsel of the high officers of the state, judges, and senators, by virtue of our royal authority in Bohemia, it is our wish to regulate and conclude, in the following manner, this article in respect to religion in the present general diet held in the castle of Prague, and being willing to provide, we do provide, the states *sub utraque* with this our charter:

" First, with regard to the faith *sub una* and *sub utraque*, as already settled in a previous regulation, (Art. 32,) they are not to oppress one another, but are rather to assist each other to the uttermost; neither is one party to despise the other, which rule is to be constantly observed; and both parties are in future to be and remain bound to each other by the penalties pointed out in the said law of the land. And since the *sub una* in this kingdom follow their religion with liberty and without hindrance; the *sub utraque*, acknowledging the above-mentioned Confession, are neither to be

injurious nor intolerant to them. We therefore grant and give power and right to the said united states *sub utraque*, the nobility, the citizens, and other ranks at Prague, with their people and subjects, to all and each who did, and do acknowledge, the said Bohemian Confession, (wherein we will most graciously protect them), which was presented to the late emperor Maximilian, of glorious memory, our much beloved lord and father, in the diet of the year one thousand five hundred and seventy-five, and now is again presented to us; that with perfect liberty, and according to their own pleasure, they may exercise their religion *sub utraque*, agreeably to the said Confession and the agreement made among themselves, and that they be left undisturbed in their faith and religion, with their clergy and the church order now established, or that may be established in future among them, until a perfect and general agreement upon religion shall have been made in the holy Roman empire. And moreover, they are neither now, nor shall they in future be bound to conform to the *compactates* already heretofore passed in the general diet of the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-seven, but since omitted in the privileges of the country.

" We are, moreover, willing to shew to the three states, who adhere to the confession *sub utraque*, an especial favour, by restoring to their own power and management, the lower consistory of Prague, and also grant that they may renew the consistory with its priesthood, conformably with their confession and agreement, and that they also may have their priests, both Germans and Bohemians, ordained accordingly; or receive and appoint to their livings, such as are

already ordained without molestation from the archbishop of Prague or any one else. We in the same manner give up to the power of the said states the university of Prague, and all connected therewith, as having in former times belonged to the party *sub utraque*; that they may supply the same with able and learned men, make good and beneficial arrangements, and appoint from among themselves persons of authority for the protection of both. But in the meantime, until all is settled, the said states *sub utraque* are to enjoy the free and unmolested exercise of their own religion; and as many persons as the said united states shall nominate, in equal numbers from each state, and present to us, their king and lord, as *defenders* of the said consistory of Prague, according to their common agreement; the list of names of such persons, without exception, thus nominated and presented, shall be ratified by us within two weeks after such presentation; and such shall be declared *defenders*, and be exempted from all other duties and instructions, except those which are prescribed to them by the states. But if, in case of hindrances or from whatever cause, we should be unable to ratify them within the time stated, they shall nevertheless continue protectors of both, and be authorised to direct and arrange all things, as though they had been already acknowledged and ratified by us. Also, should any one of them die, the said states *sub utraque* have power to choose another in his place, and join him to those remaining alive at the next following diet. This is likewise at all times to be observed and acted upon for the future in the manner above described, by ourselves, our heirs and successors, as kings of Bohemia, and by them the states, and defenders.

" Moreover, if either of the united states of this kingdom *sub utraque* desire to build other churches or places of worship in cities, boroughs and villages, or even schools for the education of the young, besides those churches or places of worship they already possess, and which were heretofore granted to them (in which they are to continue in peace and quiet possession); they shall at all times and in every way be permitted to do so, whether lords or knights, whether the inhabitants of Prague, or those of the mining towns, and other places, collectively or individually, without hindrance from any man. And as in many of our royal cities, even the cities of her majesty the empress, as queen of Bohemia, both religious parties, the *sub una* and the *sub utraque* live together, so we especially desire and command that, for the sake of preserving peace and unity, each party shall exercise their religion freely and without restraint, guided and directed by their own clergy, and no party shall prescribe to the other in matters of religion, nor forbid the burial of the dead in churches or churchyards, or the ringing of bells.

" Henceforth, no one, whether from the higher free classes, or from the cities and boroughs, or from among the peasantry, shall be compelled to leave his own religion and embrace that of another, either by force or subtlety, whether by clerical or lay persons. And all this as described above is honestly intended and commanded by us for the sake of maintaining love and harmony.

" Therefore we promise and vow, upon our royal word, that the three united states of our kingdom of Bohemia, acknowledging the said Bohemia Confession, are to be allowed to abide by all that which has been above decreed in writing, and to be left in every

respect unmolested, and they shall be protected by us, our heirs, and future kings of Bohemia; so that we entirely include and establish them in the religious peace of the holy empire, even as the most distinguished member of the same; in which no damage shall be done them, either by ourselves, our heirs, and future kings of Bohemia, or by any other, whether from the clerical or secular rank henceforth and for ever. No decrees of any kind shall be issued, either by us, our heirs and succeeding kings of Bohemia, or any one else, against the above established religious peace, and against the security granted by us to the states *sub utraque*, or any thing which may cause the least hindrance or change; neither shall they be required to receive it. And if any thing of that kind should take place, and if it be received by any one, whoever he be, it shall be invalid, and in such a case, be it in the form of law or otherwise, no judiciary sentence shall be of any force. Wherefore we entirely annul and invalidate all previous decrees and mandates against the said party *sub utraque*, who acknowledge the said Bohemian Confession whence ever they proceeded; so that all which in this particular has been requested of us by the states, at present and heretofore, we have ratified to them; also whatever has passed in the meantime shall not tend to the injury or detriment of the good name of, or be made matter of complaint against, the united three states of this kingdom collectively or individually, nor shall it be brought by us and the succeeding kings of Bohemia to any prejudicial remembrance, neither shall anything be altered now henceforth and for ever.

"We therefore command all high state officers,

justices and counsellors, as also all the present and future inhabitants of this kingdom, our beloved and faithful subjects, that they defend and protect the lords, knights, the inhabitants of Prague, of the mining towns and all our cities, yea, the whole of the three states of this kingdom, with all their subjects, especially the party *sub utraque*, acknowledging the said Bohemian Confession, collectively and individually, by virtue of this our provision and charter, according to all its articles and contents; and that they cause them no hindrance, nor allow any one else to cause them hindrance in it, as they desire to avoid our disgrace and displeasure. And if any one, whoever he be, clerical or secular, shall dare to violate this charter, we with our heirs and future kings of Bohemia, as also with all the states of this kingdom, hold such an one as a violator of the welfare and a breaker of the peace of the community, and deem it our duty to protect and defend the states against him, as it is definitely laid down in the article on the protection of the country, its orders and rights.

"We finally command the higher and lower officers of the registry of our kingdom of Bohemia, to enter this our charter, for a memorial, in the registry office, with the report of the diet, which will be made during the present session by the three states of this kingdom, and then to have this original laid up with the other charters of the country at Karlstein. In attestation of which we have ordered our great seal to be appended to it. Given at our castle of Prague, Thursday after St. Procopius, in the year one thousand six hundred and nine, of our empire, of the Roman in the 34th, of the Hun-

garian in the 37th, and of the Bohemian in the 34th.

" Rudolff.

" Ad mandatum Sacræ Cæs. Mattis. proprium,

" Paulus Michna."*

Since the original copy of the charter from Ferdinand II. is supposed to have been destroyed, the Bohemian copy of Zittau is now the most authentic in existence. It was attested on the 15th of July by the mayor and council of the new town of Prague, who, for the greater assurance of its authenticity, deliberately and unanimously ordered their great seal to be affixed to it.

The present German translation was executed by John Borott in Zittau, 1803, and printed at Görlitz. The original was found in 1801 by Dr. Bergmann, in the council's library at Zittau. Its seal-case is no longer upon it. It is supposed to have been brought to Zittau by the Bohemian pastor John Fleischmann; to whom that library is indebted for many other valuable manuscripts. But since it is known that the utraquistical administrator of the consistory, George Dikastus, fled from Prague to Zittau, it is more probable that he brought it with him from the consistorial archives.

In this famous charter, so desirable for the Protestants, but so repugnant to their opponents, especially the Jesuits, several points deserve consideration.

The desire of union for the promotion of the

* Michna, who now was obliged to write the charter by the order of Rudolph, was a chief opposer of the Protestants under Ferdinand. The signature of *Adam Sternberg*, usually found in other copies, is omitted in that of Zittau.

general good; that each party should profess their religion, "in which they hoped for salvation," *free and unhindered*; that the grant was conferred, partly on account of powerful intercessions, and on account of services done; as well as the result of his majesty's own mature deliberation, guided by the counsel of his chief officers of state.

The parties were now no longer to oppress and despise each other; they were freely to exercise their religion, and were to abide by the "order" which should be introduced. A utraquistical consistory was also granted, which the archbishop of Prague was not to obstruct. The university was transferred to the utraquists, who were allowed to appoint defenders for it; and also to build more churches and schools; and future kings were to keep the charter inviolate, its abrogation being expressly prohibited. Thus then all desired unanimity among themselves and their posterity. We have referred to the intercessions which contributed to determine the Emperor Rudolph in giving his signature. These were made by the Emperor's brother, King Matthias of Hungary, Christian II. elector of Saxony, Frederic IV. elector of the Palatinate, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, Duke Henry Julius of Brunswick, the Palsgrave Philip Lewis of Neuburg.* An especially active and meritorious man in this transaction was Dr. Marcus Gerstenberger, privy counsellor to the Elector of Saxony, chancellor of Saxon Altenburg, and ambassador to the Emperor at Prague. He died at Dresden in

* Their intercessory letters are in the Second Apology, 1619; and in the Bohemian *de comitiis Pragensibus*. The letter of the Elector of Saxony, in Borott, 42.

1613. "I have frequently heard at Prague," says a contemporary, "with what gratitude the states of the crown of Bohemia acknowledge the faithfulness of Dr. Gerstenberg, how obliged they feel themselves towards him, offering to render him a perpetual and honourable reward. Thus it was proposed to him, that he, with his children, should be admitted to the rank of knighthood in Bohemia. For if that gentleman had done nothing more during his lifetime than this, it could not be sufficiently commended. God has especially used him for this work, that he contributed to persuade his majesty to leave the kingdom of Bohemia at liberty to establish evangelical churches and schools in all cities and villages. The consequence is, that instead of there being only five churches in the whole kingdom, where the word of God could be securely and boldly preached in its purity, it is *now* done publicly in about 500, without any hindrance. In Prague there are nearly thirty churches, where the exercise of the evangelical doctrine is carried on in the Bohemian and German languages." But some have also insinuated that it required much gold to bribe certain intercessors.

Catholic writers have maintained that Rudolph's signature was extorted from him by threats and violence.* But the Protestants refer to many expressions in the charter, which contradict that reproach; though it cannot be denied, that the asser-

* Per vim, says Balbinus (Misc. 1, 8.170), and other Jesuits. So it has often been asserted of the religious peace of Passau of 1555, that it could not be valid, because it had merely been extorted and compelled by the sword, and not ratified by the Pope.

tion of the Catholics contains, at least, some portion of truth; as the following quotation from the history of the thirty years' war clearly indicates:—"This determination (viz. when the evangelical states levied troops and joined the Silesians), finally induced the Emperor to yield, and the Spaniards even advised him to do so. And fearing, lest the states, being reduced to extremity, should take refuge with the King of Hungary (Matthias), he signed the charter. The indulgence which he began to shew, now only proved to them how much they had been feared. They had taken the resolution that they themselves should establish the free exercise of their religion, by neglecting the Emperor, in his exigencies, until he should ratify that enactment."

As to the manner in which the states forced the Emperor to sign the charter, we have the Canon Pessina's account, from *his* point of view, who makes use of the manuscripts of the famous Slawata. In order to be impartial we here lay it before the reader.

"As sedition now continued to increase, and the traitors had recourse to extremities, and, (what in subjects must be reckoned as the grossest of crimes,) not only prepared themselves for violence by taking up arms, but also collected money and levied troops; so that within three days there joined their flag 3,000 infantry, under Count Matthias Henry Thurn, the principal of that conspiracy, and 1,500 cavalry, who were commanded by Leonard of Colonna-Fels, and John Bubna the elder, and finally made every preparation to begin hostilities; then the Emperor, surrounded and closely pressed by so many and great evils, being unable

to protect himself against the rapid advance of the rebels, and unwilling to oppose violence to violence, at length determined to yield to necessity, and grant them their wish. He indignantly cursed his fate, which so meanly and disgracefully exposed him to the arrogance of the faithless, and deprived him of the only right of heirship, seeing that he was unable to subdue their power. He first held private consultations with his council, and inquired of each one separately, whether they thought that the circumstances of the state really required such a sacrifice. The opinion of the majority was, that they ought to yield; since the demands were made with such violence that they ought to be complied with in every way; that it was indeed to be feared, in case of a refusal, that the rebels would entirely fall away from their fidelity and obedience, call Matthias into the country, of whom they knew that he had just then granted to the Austrians full religious liberty without exception, and deliver up to him the sceptre of the empire. The high chancellor alone, who was present, differed from them. He concluded his powerful objections with these words, that if king Matthias did grant the Austrians free exercise of an anti-catholic religion, he thereby only prepared his own ruin, and it did not hence follow that his majesty should imitate him in it. Nevertheless, when everything was weighed which the present circumstances demanded, the Emperor followed the advice of the majority, believing it to be his duty to have regard to the unhappy combination of the rebels, and comply with their demands. Only a few conditions he rejected or restricted. Thus he allowed the free exercise of religion, and con-

firmed it by a formal document, called a charter, which the heretics had themselves fabricated, on the 9th day of July 1609. And though the like documents of privileges, and other public acts of the Bohemian kings, had to be signed by the high chancellor, he yet refused his signature in this case, and openly protested, that he could not possibly give his sanction to so wicked a deed without violating his faith and conscience; that, moreover, the matter would result in the ruin of the catholic religion, and even of the empire itself. John Menzel, counsellor of the consistory, a man of great integrity, and very careful and circumspect in all consultations and transactions, did the same. Instead of the former it was signed by the chief burgrave, and instead of the latter by Paul Michna, who of late had returned to this country from remote provinces, and on account of his distinguished experience and erudition had been appointed secretary of the Bohemian chancery, by his majesty's own command."

The impressions which that charter made were naturally various in character. While on the one hand the Utraquists and Protestants *rejoiced*, perhaps *triumphed* too much, and even reasonable Catholics did not grudge them the attainment of their desired object,—on the other, the strict Roman Catholics, especially the clergy and the Jesuits, were highly indignant at the demands of the Protestants, and at Rudolph's indulgence. They spoke with derision of the charter, preached and wrote against the Evangelicals, bestowed on them opprobrious names, and gave it as their judgment, that the charter need not be respected, because the

Emperor had not been empowered by the Pope to make such concessions, and that alone was sufficient to render it invalid. They incessantly provoked the Protestants to impatience and despair, in order that the means they might adopt in self-defence should give occasion and plausible ground for bearing them down with the utmost severity. "Through invented turmoils, quite contrary to the laws which protected them," says Comenius,* "they were so provoked, that they finally lost their patience and took up arms. It was thought, if they could only be brought so far, that it would be a just pretension for crushing them by force, as rebels and state criminals."

Rudolph himself, who doubtless often repented of his signature, consoled himself with the hope, that peace and unity would again be established in the country.

The people who had so ardently desired the charter, "could not contain themselves for joy, when," says Pelzel, "on the 12th of July, Budowa brought intelligence that the Emperor had signed it," and that they were now allowed, equally with the Jews at Prague, to have their own divine service. Their joy and rejoicing grew perhaps too loud; but who could disapprove, when they solemnised the 15th of July as a day of thanksgiving, with a sermon in a very ancient Hussite church, that had for a long time been shut up.† "The whole of Bohemia," says Jacobai, that contemporary writer, "as far as it

* Comenius, de Ecclesiæ.

† "First lawful, public, evangelical sermon in the German language, preached in a Hussitish church, which had long been closed."—Theatr. Europ. 10.

was Protestant, was full of rejoicing; men, women, young men and maidens, and children, learned and unlearned, united in praise to God and the sovereign of the country." The great object of joy was, that the gospel could freely be sounded forth everywhere, and the Lord's supper celebrated according to the appointment of its Divine author. A whole year before, prayers for the success of the religious liberty of the church of Bohemia, had been offered up in Saxony; and now there was a cordial participation of joy, so that the 7th Sunday after Trinity was celebrated there as a day of thanksgiving. For foreigners it was doubtless a very important and desirable thing to have German divine service in Prague, and still more so to the inhabitants, who no longer had occasion to travel two miles in order to attend a service of which they could approve. Animated with joy, they did not at first anticipate that the time would be so short, in which justice and toleration should be allowed to Protestants.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEFENDERS—ADMINISTRATION OF THE CONSISTORY—UTRAQUISTICAL UNIVERSITY—INSTRUCTIONS TO THE DEFENDERS—ARTICLES OF PROTECTION.

It is not likely that the Evangelicals could long remain ignorant of their danger, as they were witnesses of the jealousy and indignation of their adversaries, and undoubtedly had many opportunities of hearing angry expressions and threatenings. Indeed they foresaw that they should again be called to defend the rights which they had so lately acquired. It was for this cause the Emperor had granted, in the charter and by an edict of the 11th of June, 1609, the appointment of *defenders* or *protectors* of the new consistory and university, which were held independently of the archbishop. From each of the three states there were chosen, as defenders, eight able and distinguished men, who before they were honoured with this mark of their confidence, had already proved their zeal in the cause of the Utraquists. The Emperor had also been obliged to bind himself by the charter that he would authorise those, without exception, whom the states should propose. But for the better understanding of the case, we insert the "articles and agreement of the order, authority and function of the *defenders*."

"Since his imperial majesty, as king of Bohemia,

in his imperial and royal charter granted to the three states *sub utraque*, who in this kingdom acknowledge the Bohemian confession, regarding the free exercise of their religion, has likewise graciously conceded to them, among other articles contained in that charter, that they may appoint from amongst themselves certain persons as *defenders* of the consistory and academy of Prague, now placed under their authority, with the annexed proviso that, as many persons as the said three states *sub utraque* shall so appoint from among themselves, in an equal number, by a common consent, and present a list of their names to his imperial majesty, as their king and lord, that his imperial majesty, within two weeks from the day of the presentation of such list, shall and will authorise as *defenders* all such persons without exception, who shall be inserted in that list, without assigning them any other duties or instructions, beyond those committed to them by the states, as is more fully expressed in that article of the said charter. Therefore, the states *sub utraque* most humbly petition his majesty to grant, that they may be empowered to submit to the authority of those defenders the protection of their religion and the administration of the said consistory and academy. Accordingly his imperial majesty has agreed with the three states of this kingdom, and graciously granted :—

" First, that the three states *sub utraque*, acknowledging the Bohemian confession, shall be enabled to empower the said defenders with the special charge of all things connected with their religion *sub utraque*, the administration of the consistory and academy, and the maintaining of good and peace-

able order; and wherever it be requisite to direct, constitute or reform* anything among themselves, they, the defenders, shall manage it without hindrance or interference of his imperial majesty; also, if necessary for the further deliberation and final settlement of such matters, they shall avail themselves of the advice and counsel of the high officers of state, the judges, and others of his majesty's counsellors, (but such only as are of the *sub utraque*, and acknowledge the Bohemian confession), and of six persons from each community in every district, from among the three states *sub utraque*, and to call them together at Prague for such purpose. In case they shall be unable to settle any matter among themselves they shall refer such matter to the succeeding diet, in which those *sub utraque* acknowledging the Bohemian confession being assembled, shall among themselves deliberate, determine and conclude the same; in which they shall meet with no hindrance, either from their majesties, the future kings of Bohemia, or the party *sub una*. However, in such consultation and arrangements, while the *sub utraque* deliberate upon their own affairs, they shall not consult nor decide upon such things which may be opposed to his imperial majesty as king of Bohemia, nor against the *sub una*, nor against the charter granted to the *sub utraque*, nor against the agreement made between both parties, and enrolled in the public registry; but in case of difference between the *sub una* and the *sub utraque*, in matters of a religious nature, so that any one should insult and reproach the other, whether be-

* Evidently a provision for future seasonable improvements, according to the nature of the progress to be made.

longing to the clerical or secular rank, on account of religion, or one should deprive the other of the tithes or interests legally belonging to his parish, or make inroads into his parish or living, or cause hindrance or difficulty in the way of the exercise of his religion, contrary to the said charter, and the agreement made in this diet, between the *sub una* and the *sub utraque;* his imperial majesty, to prevent such oppressions and occasional differences being always referred to the diet, decides and constitutes, with the three states, that the chosen defenders *sub utraque* shall first deliberate upon such cases, with the high officers of state, the judges and counsellors of the exchequer, and with the persons selected in equal number from all the districts, as mentioned above; and then refer the matter to his imperial majesty, with a petition for his interference, who within six weeks from the day of such reference, shall direct the parties in question to appear in his court at the castle of Prague, in order that witnesses be examined in the chancery, and a regular court of justice be formed of twelve persons, from the *sub utraque*, who shall be selected by the defenders and high officers of state, the justices, and his majesty's counsellors of exchequer, together with the twelve persons from among the people; and other twelve persons which the states *sub una* of this kingdom shall likewise select from their own body. These shall together appoint for the parties a certain hearing within six weeks, and determine the case by judicial sentence.

"In the same way, should one of the *sub una* be molested by any of the *sub utraque*, whoever he be, in any of the matters stated above, it is after the same

manner to be brought before his majesty by the officers and courts of justice, and in every respect proceeded with, and judgment passed as in the case stated above.

" Moreover, every one, whether from the clerical or secular rank, is in duty bound to appear before such court of justice, and to submit and give satisfaction to whatever may be determined by that court. But in case one should refuse to appear or to submit to the sentence passed thereby, such an one shall be proceeded against according to the law of the country relating to such cases. Of the persons composing that court, those only shall be sworn in who have not hitherto been employed in the like office and service; but the others shall assist in judging of the case, in virtue of their previous oath. The judges of such court shall, moreover, be careful not to pass judgment contrary to the above-mentioned charter, and the agreement drawn up in it, nor against the agreement made with the states; since in that charter it is expressed among other things, that no decree or any other thing of that nature, shall be regarded, whether it come from his imperial majesty, or his heirs, or the future kings of Bohemia, or from any party whatever opposed to this religious peace and reconciliation effected between the states *sub utraque* by his imperial majesty. And should anything of this nature be issued, or in anywise received by any one, it shall be invalid, and in such cases neither shall sentence be passed, whether judicially or otherwise."

The *consistory* of the Utraquists was to be entirely independent of the archiepiscopal chair of Prague; and when we find it called the *lower* consistory, it

is only to indicate that its situation was in the lower part of the city.

Comenius (ii. 43) speaks of the reformation of this consistory, given up to the Protestants, as follows.

" The states now reformed the consistory, and for the sake of concord* they selected by vote, three from the Hussites, three from the Brethren, and the same number from the rest of the Evangelical clergy. To whom were added three professors of the university. These twelve men were now to manage the affairs of their church throughout the whole of Bohemia. And as unity had only been established since the abolition of the *compactates*, and the government of the church by the rules of the divine law alone, they chose for the first administrator Elias Schuda Semanin,† from among the Hussites. But the next was chosen from among the deans. With respect to the Brethren, to whom their own arrangement was left until a stricter agreement could be made, it was decided that they should have a senior, and that he should be next in office to the administrator, as long as their peculiar order should be allowed to continue, yet in a peaceable union." So they chose the senior Mathias Cyrus, with John Cyril and John Corvinus.

The 6th of October 1609, was the day appointed for

* Namely, among the old Picards, or Bohemian Brethren, the true Utraquists, to whom in the course of time Catholic seceders joined in the evangelical church, and the immigrant Protestants.

† After him, in 1614, Sigismund Crinisus was minister of the Tein-church, a Lutheran, who successfully managed the consistory and ordained many Lutheran clergymen, and whose widow fled to Zittau in the time of the persecution; in 1619 Geo. Dikastus, a Calvinist, an old but wise man, of great acquirements, was administrator.

the arrangement of the Protestant consistory, and the election of the administrators. They took the name of *assessors*. Their duty was to decide in matters belonging to the clergy and marriages, to examine and ordain the clergy appointed, (which hitherto had been done at Zerbst,) to watch over pure doctrine and church discipline, to care for the widows of the clergy and the orphans.*

According to the charter, the university was to be supplied by the Protestants with useful and learned men. It had been for a long time in a low condition. Therefore, at the instigation of Budowa, the states resolved to do everything in their power to raise it up again. They had among them able men, such as Schlik, Zierotin, Ronow, Fünfkirch, Gersdorf, and others. With them the defenders filled the chairs of the university, and then petitioned the Elector Christian, of Saxony, to supply them with other learned men. He sent them Polycarp Leyser of Wurtemberg, who did not however long remain, and finally died at Dresden as court chaplain. The defenders not only furnished the chairs well, but they also increased the salaries, and abolished some useless laws, especially that regarding the celibacy of the professors. For it had often before happened, that the most learned men were forced to quit the chair when they married, and that foreigners refused their call to Prague on the same account. Now there returned to the lecturer's chair the learned professor of medicine Adam Huber, who, with Bachacius,

* Regarding the last point it must be observed, that in the edict quoted below it is said, that the consistory shall not tolerate priests with wives or concubines.

Jessenius, Campanus, Hagiochoranus, and Laurentius, was an ornament to the academy, and had been obliged to quit it in 1580. The defender Budowa, himself a learned and educated man, was the soul of everything that was now done; and Dr. John Jessenius published in 1619 at Prague, in Latin, German, and Bohemian, a special "Exhortation to the states of the kingdom of Bohemia regarding the renovation of the university." It seemed, as if the times of its splendour under Charles IV. were again returning. The biographies of the celebrated men of that day, as given by Pelzel and Kalina, prove indeed that learning was in a very flourishing condition.

To gain admission for the persecuted Brethren into the established union of the Utraquists and Protestants, had always been attended with difficulty; as the following circumstances shew.*

"In the latter years of the reign of Rudolph II. a certain Rumpius was the factotum at court. He, in the name of the Emperor, deprived some of the nobility of the free exercise of their religion, and by the help of the subtle Jesuits procured a decree, by which the churches of the Brethren were closed. Rumpius soon after fell into disgrace with the Emperor, and was obliged to quit the court. The Brethren then obtained their churches and liberty, as they, in common with the Evangelicals, shared in the benefit of the charter granted to the Utraquists. But at the crafty instigation of the Jesuits, the Emperor was at first inclined to exclude them. This the states resisted, and said, 'We are

* Note in the German edition of Comenius' history of the Brethren, p. 128.

not disposed to molest the Brethren in the exercise of their religion.' Though there were certainly some Protestants, possessed of more violence and zeal than wisdom and Christian modesty, who opposed the general agreement; but being severely reprobated by the states, they were compelled to yield. Even Count Schlik hesitated at first to sign; but afterwards remarking, that they who had joined in the labour of the vineyard ought reasonably to share also in its fruits, he gave his signature. They then *unanimously* proceeded to the church, in so great a concourse that neither the church nor the market-place, nor the streets, could afford them room. All the bells of the evangelical churches rang joyous peals. Wenzel Stephanides, archdeacon of Kuttenberg, preached with such fervour that the tears of his hearers mingled with their joy. In conclusion the *Te Deum* was sung, which again gladdened every heart. Before the assembly of the states separated there were ordained as preachers in the Bethlehem chapel, which had been consigned to the Brethren, John Rosa, Elias Acontius, Peter Cepsas, and John Brosius."

The appellation Utraquists now became a general term, in which were included Lutherans, Reformed,* the Brethren, and Calixtine Hussites.

Before describing the improved condition of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Protestants in Bohémia, we must state the principles upon which they agreed. These are well described in "The *union* (or *agreement*) established between the *sub una* and the *sub utraque*, without injury to the charter, enrolled in

* Who were especially to be met with in Prague, Kuttenberg, Saaz, Laun, Czaslau, and Leutmeritz.

the silver-coloured quarterne* A. 1609, on Saturday after Egidii O. g. and inserted in the new consistory book," at p. 31.

" With regard to the article of religion, which by the gracious desire of his imperial majesty, as king of Bohemia, has been referred for further decision from the diet of Monday after Sunday Exaudi to the next following diet, in which diet his imperial majesty has by his charter granted a certain security to those who partake of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ *sub utraque*, that they may publicly and freely, without hin drance, practise their religion according to the Bohemian Confession presented to his imperial majesty, and according to the union and agreement made among themselves, it is entirely to stand good, agreeably to that charter and provision. And since it has been mutually deliberated and agreed between the deputies of the states *sub una* and *sub utraque*, that each shall and will allow the other unreservedly to continue in possession as heretofore of all their churches, their worship, ceremonies, collatures, convents, colleges, appointments, endowments, tithes, rents, incomes, and ancient usages, without hindrance or oppression, or occasion to alter their religion. Also that his imperial majesty, in his dominions, as king of Bohemia, or any other of the higher ranks, whether *sub una* or *sub utraque*, have a right to appoint for themselves, or their subjects in their parishes, a priest *sub utraque*, ordained by the arch-

* In the offices they had all sorts of external marks upon the books,—colours, flowers, &c.—probably in order that the attendants, who could not read, might fetch the volume required, without mistake.

bishop of Prague. But as regards Prague and other cities of this kingdom, because that the community of the three towns of Prague with their priesthood, and other cities, have joined in large numbers the *sub utraque*, and have received the said confession, and declared their willingness to conform in all things to the order which the *sub utraque*, according to the contents of that confession, either have now, or may in future establish; therefore, (to avoid future differences and dissatisfaction in the parishes and churches,) they have subjected themselves to the following regulation. In case there should yet be one found in any church or parish, ordained by the archbishop of Prague, desiring to conform to the rites of a priest *sub utraque*, according to the Bohemian confession, he is at liberty to do so, yet so as not to give cause for derision or hindrance in that church or parish; and thus he may apply for, and participate in the church service of a priest consecrated by the archbishop of Prague, connected with the consistory, which has been given into the power of the states *sub utraque* by his majesty.

" Again, regarding the burial of the dead and the ringing of bells. Those of the *sub utraque* shall not be buried in the churches and parishes of the *sub una*, nor those of the *sub una* in the churches and parishes of the *sub utraque*. But if in a parish of the *sub una* there be people of the *sub utraque*, who pay their tithes and rents, they shall be buried in their respective places without special application to the impropriator. And again, on the other hand, when people of the *sub una* belong to a parish *sub utraque*, and pay their tithes and other rates, they shall be

buried in their respective places without such special application. If any priest refuse to a party the interment of their dead, they are no longer bound to pay their tithes and imposts, but the authorities may order them to any other parish, which they may approve; and form a burial place there. In places or cities where there are those of the *sub utraque*, who neither have their own burying grounds, nor use them in common with those of the *sub una*, they may build churches and places of worship for themselves, and set apart certain spaces for burying grounds, according to the measurement given in the said charter.

" If a lawsuit regarding a benefice be pending, he parties shall in such case wait for the judicial decision, so that those in possession may not be disturbed until it be adjudicated by the court; and, since the charter granted by his imperial majesty to the states *sub utraque* does not set aside the agreement made between the two parties, neither does the agreement abrogate the charter; therefore the decision made, whether in favour of one or the other party, cannot be abrogated, but is equally binding on both. And his imperial majesty leaves the *sub una* not only entirely in all respects to the provision afforded them by the said charter, but also to the above-written agreement; and graciously consents that a copy of the said charter, and the articles of this diet, under the great seal of this kingdom, be given from the registry office to each party; namely, the *sub una* and the *sub utraque*. Given on Thursday after St. Procopio, anno 1609."

At the end of this ancient and almost untranslateable Bohemian document, the following is found.

" Here are omitted the signatures of their graces the lords, high state officers, and judges of the kingdom of Bohemia, and those of the directors appointed in the general diet of the states *sub utraque*, as also of persons from among the three states, who partly signed this union with their own hands in the name of the whole of the *sub una*, and partly in the name of the *sub utraque*, as is found in the original, deposited in the register office."

The following articles were drawn up on the establishment of the consistory.

" Articles of agreement of the three states of the kingdom of Bohemia, who partake of the holy eucharist of the Lord Jesus Christ under both forms, acknowledging ourselves belonging to the Bohemian confession, now assembled together in the castle of Prague, and united together in the holy Christian faith; for the establishment of our priesthood, according to the Bohemian confession, the regulation of the consistory, church order, and the peaceable exercise of our religion.

" Since, on our humble petition, and the powerful intercessions made for us the united states of this kingdom *sub utraque*, his serene highness Rudolph II. our most gracious lord, has by his majesty's royal charter permitted and granted us the right and power, that we the said united states *sub utraque*, who have and do acknowledge the said Bohemian confession, may practise freely, without hindrance, in all places, our Christian religion under both forms, according to the same confession and the unanimous agreement established among us; and that we be left undisturbedly in our belief and worship, our priesthood, and church order, as we have it now or may

hereafter arrange it; and has authorized us to build places of worship, establish divine service and schools for the education of the young, without hindrance, and without regard to the *compactates*, which were annulled in the general diet of 1567, and omitted in the privileges of the country and elsewhere. And besides this his imperial majesty has likewise shewn us the favour, and graciously committed to our authority and care the lower consistory of Prague; that we, the united states *sub utraque*, may renew the said consistory with our priests, according to our confession, and the agreement made in connection with the same; to have our Bohemian and German priests ordained and appointed, without any hindrance of the archbishop of Prague or any one else. And in like manner, his imperial majesty has consigned over to us the academy of Prague, with all its appurtenances, which from old times belonged to the estates *sub utraque*, that we may furnish the same with able and learned men, and establish good and commendable order; and also, appoint over both, certain persons from our midst as defenders. To which is joined the promise, in the said charter, that his majesty will graciously protect us as an important member of the religious peace established in the holy Roman empire, according as is contained and further detailed in the charter dated from the castle of Prague, Thursday after St. Procopio, anno 1609, which in a special report of the diet has also been enrolled in the public register office.

"In relation to our Christian union or agreement, frequently alluded to in the above-mentioned charter, it is universally known, and his imperial

majesty has been informed by our most humble petitions, that it was made between us, the states *sub utraque*, acknowledging the Bohemian confession,* as the *one party*, and our beloved friends, who call themselves the *United Brethren*, also confessing, like their ancestors, the same holy Christian faith as is contained in this confession, as the *other party*. It is clearly and evidently proved by the supplication which the states in 1575 joined to their confession, and published, that even then a beginning had been made of the agreement, which we, united in holy Christian faith by virtue of the confession, presented to the late emperor Maximilian, in 1575, and now is presented to our reigning most gracious lord, and in this agreement and confession we intend now and in future to stand and hold together as one man, as we have clearly shewn in our most humble petitions and answers to his imperial majesty respecting the same; because, according to the said confession, they, the Brethren, are one with us, and their ancestors agreed in the confession presented by us in 1575 to the late emperor Maximilian, of worthy memory, and were desirous to unite with us in acknowledging the same. Besides these, the greater portion of the priests of Prague, who had received their ordination from those *sub una*, that is, from the Romish bishops or the archbishop of Prague, and have come over to us, the united states, have likewise acknowledged the Bohemian confession, and prayed to be included in it, inasmuch as they consider it good and conformable to the truth of holy Scripture; promising that they will hold forth this salutary doctrine in the

* By some called the Augsburg confession.

church to the people of God over whom they are or may be set, to rid themselves of the doctrines of men, which are contrary to the word of God and this confession; and to uphold and conform to such order as is in accordance with the word of God. We have therefore gladly received them into our union.

"And since it is of the utmost importance in the church of God, among us of the united states, that there should be entertained and continued true love and union, both between the priests and church ministers, and between the people and the attendants; which cannot exist in the absence of good order, as the Spirit of God exhorts the whole church, (1 Cor. xiv.) when he says: "let all things be done decently and in order:" we, the above-mentioned united states, have agreed, and do now agree, with regard to this matter, as follows.

"First, as to the union so often referred to, by which we came to an agreement in our Christian faith, we desire and are willing, by the help of God, to abide truly thereby, for the benefit and happiness of our souls; to love our God above all things; conform our lives to His holy word, which this confession comprehends; to unite together in Christian love; further each other's interest and protect one another; that by such beginnings, in which we praise and thank God here in the church militant, we may become more fitted, more dignified, and perfected for a heavenly abode with the whole church triumphant; and thus together, through the grace of God our heavenly Father, the merits of Jesus Christ his beloved Son, and the mercies of the Holy Ghost, we may attain to everlasting bliss.

" Since also there has hitherto been much vexation and offence caused between parties, by scornful and abusive expressions and absurd names, contrary to the law of the country ; in order that such may be done away and cease, we agree among ourselves, because we all acknowledge the same confession, and are united in the same faith, that, from this time no one shall dare to use such names, under a due penalty to be imposed; but that all of us unitedly shall acknowledge and call ourselves *Christians under both forms*, and thus unanimously abide together in brotherly love, according to divine order in Christ Jesus.

" Regarding the appointment of the priesthood in the consistory, and their consecration, we have deliberated and agreed among ourselves :—

" That we will choose and elect from our pious priesthood a learned and able man as an administrator, who by his honourable walk and conversation may contribute to the edification of others; and then appoint him and five other priests *sub utraque*, as members of the consistory.

" From the priests of those who call themselves the United Brethren one shall be chosen senior, who shall rank next to the administrator, and with him two others from among that priesthood. The administrator, with all those priests mentioned above, and three other persons from the professors of the university of Prague, also to be appointed, shall form the consistory, and sit together in judgment upon matrimonial and other spiritual matters, according to certain instructions which shall hereafter be given them, for their guidance.

" Moreover, in what regards the consecration of priests, the following order is to be observed. The administrator himself, in the presence of the priests who sit with him in the consistory, shall consecrate to the priesthood, by the laying on of hands, such persons in particular who belong to his jurisdiction, who are called by their impropriators from among the three states, and are found fit for the office, having been examined with reference to the Bohemian confession, and into whose doctrine and life diligent inquiry has been made.

" And whenever any one from among the three states of the kingdom of Bohemia shall desire of the administrator and his priesthood, the appointment of a priest of their order in his parish, he shall appoint one without any objection, and in this the above-mentioned senior shall cause him no hindrance.

" The administrator is not to force any priest upon any of the three states, without the knowledge and consent of the impropriator, nor remove any one previously installed in his office. Likewise those persons of his own order, or belonging to his own party, desiring to enter the priestly office, among those called United Brethren, being found fit and worthy by them, and willing to conform to the doctrine contained in this confession, shall be examined, ordained and consecrated, according to the mode and order in use among them ; and the said administrator is also to lay his hands upon them.

" Priests ordained in the said manner are to be introduced and installed in the parish or living of those who desire it, by the senior, in company with other priests of his own order. In this, moreover,

neither the administrator, nor any one else, shall have power or right to hinder him the said senior in any way; but every one shall abide by his own order, ceremonies and rites; and it shall rather be the bounden duty of each to assist and promote in others true Christian love and unity by a peaceable life and walk; as those who are united in one faith under the Bohemian confession, ratified by his imperial majesty. Therefore no detraction or disdain shall in the least be allowed on account of stricter discipline, that may be observed by one or other party of our priesthood.

"Priests previously ordained, or such as may yet be ordained in this kingdom, or elsewhere, and who may be desirous of officiating in the churches and worship, shall apply to the administrator and consistory; acknowledge the Bohemian confession; and promise that they will teach and live according to the same, and seek union, and render love and obedience. And it is the duty of the administrator to enter them in the register of the consistory, respecting which he will receive certain instructions from the defenders.

"The preceding articles, we the three united states *sub utraque*, both those now present in this general diet, and also those absent, have signed with our own hands, and ordered them to be entered in the book of the consistory, for a future and perpetual testimony."

This renovation of the consistory, priestly consecration and holy union of the parties *sub utraque*, was signed by the three states on the day of St. Wenceslaus, at the college of Charles IV. in presence of a great multitude from among the three states,

and the principals of the priesthood, called together from all parts of the kingdom, to the number of 500 men. Then the states in a body, with the priesthood, proceeded to the parish church called the *Tein*, in the old town of Prague, where first of all a sermon was preached, and the priests were exhorted not to leave Prague until they had given their signature, which they accordingly did. Finally, after fervent prayer and thanksgiving, the service was concluded with the Te deum laudamus.

The following is an account of the "church order and spiritual administration" established in the consistory of Prague, among those who partake of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ *sub utraque*:—

"Whereas every community, whether political, civil, or spiritual in the church of God, requires rule and order, without which it cannot exist, as the Spirit of God exhorts all Christian assemblies, when he says, 1 Cor. xiv. "Let all things be done decently and in order:" Wherefore, in order that the administrator and the consistorial priests may first fulfil their own duty with regard to this apostolical exhortation, officiating to the glory of God and the edification of the church; and then direct and take the oversight of their fellow priests and church ministers; they are to attend to and observe the following spiritual regulations—concerning the duty and management of the consistory; and concerning the ceremonies and usages in the various church services.

"*First.*—Good order in the duty and management of the consistory.

"1. The administrator with the whole consistory

is in duty bound to adhere to the pure and christian doctrine contained in the Holy Scriptures, and the Bohemian confession which is derived from the word of God ; to teach the people of God according to that rule, and diligently to exhort other priests to do the like.

" 2. Power is given him of the Lord Jesus Christ and the church (as the agreement of the three states of the kingdom of Bohemia, more fully shews), to ordain and consecrate priests, after the example of the apostles and the first churches; namely, such persons who are qualified for the office, who have a right understanding of the faith according to the Holy Scriptures and the Bohemian Confession, and who are exercised therein.

" 3. The calling of the church to the priestly office, requires that persons be chosen who fear God, in truth and enlightenment of mind, and are recommended by good testimonials from the church to the priest, from the priest to the dean, and from him to the consistory; the consistory diligently reminding such persons of the canon or rule described in 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i. whether they be found qualified as described therein ; when thus proved, they are to receive ordination by prayer, laying on of hands, and exhortation to priestly duty, in the presence of many witnesses.

" 4. The fourth duty of the administrator and the consistory is to install priests and church ministers in the parishes. But they must be such as the patron, town or congregation, have chosen and desire; and the administrator shall have no power to remove or depose priests previously appointed by patrons and communities ; but all of the three states which

have their own benefices, are at liberty to choose priests for them, whom they may admit and dismiss according to their own will and pleasure.

" 5. They shall unanimously introduce into the churches, and diligently practise and observe towards the people that discipline, which was ordered by Christ and his apostles, and carefully urged in the primitive churches; and such discipline shall be observed with the people according to the command of Christ. Matth. xviii.

" 6. They shall uphold pure doctrine, and take care that none of the priests teach contrary to the word of God and the Bohemian confession, lest error be introduced into the church—and this under church penance and discipline.

" 7. They shall ordain a principal dean with the foreknowledge and consent of the defenders, who is to impress the other deans, priests and chaplains, whether in cities or in other places, belonging to his jurisdiction, with their duty of confidence, obedience and assistance towards them. If it is not convenient for a provincial town to have a chief dean, the administrator is to take care that one be settled in some suitable locality, with the consent of its impropriator.

" 8. As also in each district, where there is a chief dean, a kind of consistory, though of minor importance, should be held, the administrator and consistory shall assist the dean, who is set over other priests as their inspector, in hearing and deciding occasional complaints. The said dean shall himself once a year visit his priests, and give a strict report to the administrator and consistory, as to the conduct and diligence of each in his office.

" 9. They shall hold synods or assemblies of the

clergy and priesthood, with consent of the defenders, in which they shall treat upon general spiritual matters. And in cases of difference of opinion and dispute among the priesthood, which the chief dean and his assistants are unable to settle; or other important matters, which he cannot manage alone, the administrator and the consistory shall undertake and adjust them as far as practicable.

"10. The consistory shall also begin in the communities of Prague, to furnish each priest or church minister, with four or more pious, honest and wise men, under the name of *Curates Ecclesiæ*, or church managers, who shall assist the vicar with counsel for the preservation of good order and church discipline; who shall watch over him and his household; and, if necessary, give in their evidence to the dean, and especially to the consistory:—but in matters of importance nothing shall be undertaken and done, either by the vicar, without the community, or by the community without the vicar; nor by the dean without the consistory and the defenders.

"11. In difficult cases the administrator and consistory shall avail themselves of the assistance and counsel of the defenders, and by their co-operation decide and settle such matters.

"12. In cases of dispute, in matters of matrimony, whether they relate to espousals, promises of marriage, or divorce, they shall hear and decide between the parties. But such matters shall be treated according to the direction of our Lord in the holy Scriptures and the church laws, as they have been received by the evangelical states of the empire. From this spiritual court and its sentence

there shall be no appeal to any other, whether spiritual or secular; but every one is bound to abide by the decision of the consistory.

"13. In cases of difference and dispute between the deans and other priests, relating to articles of faith, or about common injurious expressions, contrary to the word of God and the Christian faith, the the administrator and consistory, together with the professors of the holy scriptures, shall take up the matter, hear the parties, and re-establish peace.

"14. If in any case of spiritual litigation, one finds it impossible conscientiously to submit to the sentence passed by the consistory, and therefore desires to appeal against it, he shall be referred to the defenders in a synod and general assembly of the priests.

"15. Whoever wishes to have appointed in his parish a priest, that has been ordained elsewhere, is first to present him before the consistory; and when after examination he is found worthy, and his belief is in accordance with holy writ and the Bohemian confession; and he is willing so to teach his hearers, he may be received by consent of the consistory; but he must promise the administrator and consistory to be like-minded with the rest in doctrine, peace, union, order, and subjection.

"16. Useless, injurious and erroneous books, which are contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the Bohemian confession, shall not be printed nor published by any one; and good and useful books shall first be reviewed by the professors of the theological faculty. The same is to be observed by every faculty in the publication of their books.

"17. It belongs to the consistory publicly to punish

priests for offensive and bad conduct, such as drunkenness, fornication, murder, witchcraft, swearing, and the like.

" 18. The consistory, with the defenders, shall care for the widows and orphans of the church ministers, as regards the administration of wills, that they may not be defrauded; and that the authorities under which they are born, or where any have been left widows, may not have the power to reduce them to a state of vassalage; for every priest, and his wife and children, are free, and shall remain so.

" 19. The consistory, in conjunction with the defenders, shall give certain instructions to the priests and the church ministers, to be observed by them in divine service, and shall supply them with agendas in accordance with the Bohemian confession, and other good and edifying rules, derived from ancient church usages, which they shall all observe in divine service.

" 20. Any priest willing to leave his office for another, shall not do it suddenly; but is bound to give half a year's previous notice of it to his superiors, the chief dean or the consistory. And, on the other hand, any parishioners who may be dissatisfied with their priest, are first to give their cause or reason to the chief dean or the consistory; and they shall not dismiss their priest unless they can assign strong and cogent reasons for so doing.

" *Second.*—The ceremonies and customs in the church services are so to be regarded and observed, as the holy Scriptures and church rules, likewise the 19th article of the Bohemian confession do teach.

" 1. All church ceremonies shall be such as are

not contrary to the word of God, or right reason, but shall be to the glory of God without idolatry.

" 2. They shall be left to christian liberty, so that one may not disturb or despise another on this account.

" 3. The ceremonies in the church service shall be of two kinds; those that are ordained by Christ and his apostles, which may be used with certainty, and others introduced by the church, according as necessity requires. The latter, because they are a mere means, and introduced by man, may be abolished upon due cause; but with regard to those which may be injurious, the hearers shall be weaned from them by the word of God, of which examples may be found in the holy Scriptures, and according to the agreement of the general diet, A.D. 1524.

"4. Whereas there were not always the same kind of ceremonies in the church, nor ever can be, the churches shall peacefully leave each other to those which for the time being are most edifying.

" On ceremonies in particular.—The worship performed in churches on holy Sundays, festivals and working days, consist in christian hymns, devotional prayers, and in the preaching of the word of God, which is practised so well in cities, towns, and villages, as to make it unnecessary to order any thing more about it. However, the priest shall no longer use the mass-books, breviaries, agendas, and the Prague rubrics, issued by the archbishop.

" 2. Those who use ceremonies shall not be despised on that account; and the people on both sides shall be exhorted to forbearance. But in case one reproaches another, whether during the preach-

ing or otherwise, he shall be summoned before the consistory, and punished according to his demerits. But if he refuse to be reconciled to the consistory, the defenders shall inflict punishment upon him according to sentence.

" 3. The christian festivals to be solemnised are, the sabbath of the Lord or Sunday ; four principal festivals in the year, Christmas or Nativity, Easter or the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus, the descent of the Holy Ghost or Whitsuntide, and the Festival of the Holy Trinity. Together with the Festival of the Circumcision, holy three Kings, Purification of the Virgin, Paul's Conversion, Annunciation-day, Thursday in Passion-week, Good Friday, Ascension-day, All Saints'-day, Transfiguration-day, separation of the Apostles, and the commemoration of John Huss.

" 4. If on those festivals, or commemorative saints' days, any one shall desire to take in hand his usual business or work, after the divine service and preaching, it is not to be accounted to him as sin.

" 5. Baptism is to be performed according to the appointment of Christ. The names of the parents, the godfathers, and the children, shall be entered in the church books.

" 6. True care, due reverence and gravity, shall be observed in the consecration, offering and partaking of the Eucharist. Nothing shall be used in the consecration but the external elements, bread and wine, without mixture of water, according to the institution of Christ. In the partaking, both elements shall be administered. Those who come to the table of the Lord shall previously present themselves before their appointed pastor, in order

to satisfy and strengthen their consciences. If on week days there be no one to partake of the holy supper, it shall not be celebrated.

" 7. Procession, elevation, the fitting up of the holy sepulchre on Thursday in Passion week, shall at once altogether be abolished. But the ringing during the consecration and the carrying of lights, shall be left to the option of every one. The Eucharist shall not be given to children, because, they are not able to examine themselves according to the apostolic doctrine.

" 8. Marriages are to be publicly announced in the churches.

" 9. Funerals are to be performed with devotional christian hymns, without superstitious and idolatrous ceremonies. Unbaptized children are to be followed to the grave like other Christians, and to be buried in the churchyard near other Christians, during the tolling of the bells."

The Lord Joachim Andreas Schlik, count of Passaw, was appointed president of the Defenders, and to them were given the following instructions :—

" 1. That in the performance of their duty, they are to set others a good example, and diligently to be careful in all christian love and unity, and for the edification of the church of God in this kingdom, to uphold as much as possible the university and consistory (without which nothing can rightly exist, either in spiritual or in temporal affairs), to introduce and constantly maintain good order ; and also to see to it that nothing be undertaken or allowed which is contrary to the Bohemian confession, the agreement of the *sub utraque*, and the agreement made with those *sub una*.

" 2. Whereas good order is to be observed in all things, they shall assemble together regularly, in the great college, in the city of Prague, which is called the college of Charles IV. at the appointed hour, twice a-year, once on the Sunday Quasimodogeniti, and once eight days after the diet, which is held after St. Wenceslaus, and as often besides as necessity may require, and during the whole of those weeks behave themselves with due respect to all; because in this council, as in all other courts, they shall hold sessions together, irrespective of rank and age, and speak to the point in regular order, so that no one shall interrupt another in his speech, or otherwise cause disturbance; but they shall rather attentively hear each other, and prudently agree together in true love.

" 3. The president is to propose or present the cases, prohibit interruptions made in his presence, collect the votes, and decide in favour of that for which there is a majority. In cases of special importance, he is to repeat the questions twice or thrice, and then, as aforesaid, adhere to that for which there are most votes, and no one shall be permitted to deviate from that decision, except by agreement of the whole of the three states.

" 4. They shall take particular care that no one undertake anything without the foreknowledge of the rest; and in things specified in this instruction, they shall not act in a less body than twenty-five persons. In other matters they are not to decide and act without our special permission and consent.

" 5. Since no matter prospers when prematurely made public, they shall observe secrecy, and reserve

in their consultations, and no forbearance shall be shewn to any one failing in this respect; nay rather, whoever abuses this confidence, or is in anywise the cause of dissension and ill-will between us the states *sub utraque*, or induces any one else to do so, shall forthwith be put out, and reported in the very next assembly to the proper officers, and whatever shall be adjudged to such an one, by them, or by us the three states *sub utraque*, who judge according to the Bohemian confession, he shall submit, and be bound to give satisfaction therein.

" 6. All agreements, decisions and dismissions, transacted by the lords defenders, according to these our instructions given to them, shall be entered in a separate book with their proofs and counterproofs.

" Since these and others of their duties will doubtless be attended with many difficulties, and cannot be managed without trouble and cost, they may engage at our expense a skilful procurator with two able clerks, belonging to the *sub utraque*, whose income they shall stipulate and pay from the contributions which we have granted for the establishment of the university. But as every one who undertakes the management of an affair must needs be properly empowered, we grant to the defenders as follows:—

" 1. That for removal of hindrances, and despatch of business, they take to their assistance skilful and learned men, who shall carefully calculate not only the revenue and property of the university, which we have granted to it in this diet, but also the number of professors who may be annually maintained by such revenue, what stipends

may be granted them, and how their lectures and labours may be best arranged.

" 2. Following the computation thus made, they shall, according to the confidence placed in them, provide and furnish the said university with able and learned professors in all the faculties.

" 3. With each and all of these they shall treat upon the annual salary or reward for their trouble.

" 4. They shall, besides, take diligent care that the professors and tutors regularly attend to their duty, and do not neglect the instruction of youth.

" 5. Wherever the buildings of the college may be in a state of decay, they are to inspect and have them repaired at our expense, but not without our foreknowledge.

" 6. They shall defend every revenue, judicial claim, and right, belonging to the college and university of Prague; spare no pains to search them out; maintain them in law at our common charge; and apply them to the benefit of the university.

" 7. Villages and landed property belonging to this university and other colleges, but too remotely situated from Prague, they shall sell, and lend the money upon interest in certain places."

Besides the professors mentioned above, who are to be appointed in the university:—

" 1. Other three men of unquestionable erudition and lovers of peace, proficient in both laws, and acknowledging the Bohemian confession, shall after an appointed oath, be added to the new professors by which the consistory is renewed.

" 2. Whatever circumstances or changes may happen in future among the professors, this shall be observed, according as necessity may require.

" 3. They shall besides, revise and elucidate all the arrangements and legal proceedings observed at different times in the consistory and spiritual judicature, for the better carrying out of the same; retain whatever is found good, and reject whatever is wrong or obscure.

" 4. In case a tax shall hitherto have been neglected in the consistory, it shall be restored.

" 5. We besides empower the defenders, that wherever there be any defect, whether in point of order or doctrine, or offensive conduct, or ill-will and dispute in managing and conducting the university or the consistory, and especially between the rector and the university; or the professors, the administrator, the seniors or other superiors, meeting with opposition in their several offices, they (the defenders) shall consult the opinions of those who yet remain more peaceable in their order, and settle the matter.

" 6. Any variance happening between the administrator or the elders and the church patrons, be it on account of appointment, or on account of some consideration due to the priests, they shall abide by our previous decision, and not allow any one of the states *sub utraque* to be forced to accept or dismiss priests against his will, or even to suffer them in his living.

" 7. Nevertheless, the defenders, the university and consistory, shall not interfere in the affairs and arrangements which concern the former; not only those whom we have already prescribed to the consistory, but also those we are about to prescribe and commit to the professors in renewing and establishing the university.

" 8. Nor shall the defenders hearken to, and interfere in differences which the priests may have among themselves, or in marriage matters, partly on account of the confusion which this may create, and partly that when the parties are not satisfied with the decision of the consistory, they may at a proper time appeal to the defenders, who, though they receive their case, may postpone the deliberation of it to the next synod.

" 9. Whenever necessity requires such a synod to be assembled, the defenders shall give notice of it to the principals of the brotherhood, and also call together the chief state officers, the assessors of the provincial courts, the imperial counsellors of every district, and six persons from the three states of the church.

" 10. They shall inform them of the state of affairs in the university and consistory, and of the necessary provision to be made, and advise with them on the best measures to be adopted.

" 11. When they are assembled, the defenders shall choose a certain number of persons, according to the necessity of the case, from the principals of the priesthood present, godly, experienced, and learned men, with whom they shall deliberate on the affairs in which the parties have appeals made to them, and return a judicial sentence.

" 12. Whatever be their result and decision, in conjunction with that priesthood, no man shall have the right or power in anywise to interfere further with it; so it shall remain.

" 13. But in order that the character of the consistory be not lowered by frequent processes of this

nature, every one who wishes to appeal from its decision, shall deposit thirty dollars with the spiritual court, which he shall forfeit in case he be found in the wrong; and be bound to pay the loss and the costs of the other party. This shall be required of him according to the decision of the defender. But if he be found in the right, his money shall be restored to him.

" 14. The like shall be observed in conjugal affairs; if any one be referred to the defenders regarding a dispensation, they are to receive it, and the dispensation (which is not to be drawn higher than in *gradibus jure positivo prohibitis* to the other grade in the same line) shall be considered in the same church assembly with the above-mentioned clerical persons, and they shall return a judicial opinion to the party.

" 15. Should it happen that, before a general assembly, the administrator, or any of the consistorials of his rank, be removed by death, or that some other change happen among them; as for instance, if one of them desire leave of absence from some inevitable cause, and obtain it, or if one be dismissed from his duty and office for some sufficient reason: then the other principal priests from among those who have been added to the consistory, in the character of administrators, or as superintendents of this office, shall choose another administrator, or consistorial member, in conjunction with the defenders and the persons from among the states present at such assembly, after having collected the votes from the clergy. In like manner, if the Senior (*antistes*) or one from among the members of

the consistory of his order be removed by death, or any other change like those mentioned above take place, another Senior or consistorian shall be chosen from among the priesthood of his order, and be maintained in all points as described in our agreement found in the book of the consistory.

" 16. Whereas also his imperial majesty, with the whole of the three states of the kingdom of Bohemia, have graciously agreed upon and judged it right, that if between the two parties *sub una* and *sub utraque* some ill-will or contention arise, in incidental matters regarding their religion, as for example, that any one, whether of clerical or secular rank, despise or abuse another, or that one withhold the tithes or other revenues legitimately belonging to his parish, or cause hindrance or grievance in the exercise of religion, contrary to the charter and the agreement of the parties *sub una* and *sub utraque* established in this present diet,—in order that in cases of such hindrances and grievances there should not be at all times a necessity for calling the states, the defenders chosen by us *sub utraque*, after a diligent investigation of the incidents, with the chief officers of state, &c. shall bring them before his imperial majesty, and require such protection as is more fully expressed upon this point in the article of the diet. But we are not only to deliberate upon such a case, after we have learned from our priests and the persons present in the church, whether any one has indeed been aggravated in the manner stated above, but also:

" 17. Since his imperial majesty, in agreement with the whole of the three states in the general diet, has, besides, most graciously granted, that if

any one of us the *sub utraque*, find it necessary to regulate, settle, or improve anything, his imperial majesty shall not be troubled with it, but we ourselves, without any hindrance, if necessary, shall summon the said chief state officers, assessors of the judicial court, imperial counsellors, &c. to Prague, for the immediate consideration and settlement of such matters; and the defenders, with the chief state officers, &c. as aforesaid, shall take them in hand, settle, and remedy them without delay. But in case they cannot succeed in settling a matter, it shall be referred to us in the next following diet, and we the *sub utraque*, who acknowledge the Bohemian confession, shall have the power of considering, and of finally settling it among ourselves in the great assembly present in such a diet.

" *Thirdly*. Whereas, by virtue of the imperial charter, we intend also to renew the university of Prague, but find ourselves in great want of money, with which we must of necessity be provided, the said three states *sub utraque* have freely offered in this general diet each one to give from his own purse fifteen little groschen for each of his fixed vassals (towards which the vassals shall give nothing); likewise those who have money upon interest, (except those whose property or money on interest does not exceed 2,000 dollars, especially widows,) two dollars from each thousand, &c. The inhabitants of Prague and of other free cities, shall make a computation among themselves, as to what they ought duly to contribute in proportion to that city, and shall without fail transmit it by the next Midlent to the defenders, with a recognisance, as the diet of this article more fully expresses. That contri-

bution the defenders shall receive, to which they shall add the sum derived from the sale of the villages belonging to the university, but sold for the benefit of the same on account of being situated too far from Prague, and what moreover godly men may procure and assign to it. Part of this they shall lend out on moderate interest and sufficient security (not without the advice and consent of the chief officers of state, the assessors of the judicial courts, &c.) to the higher states or cities having landed property, belonging to the *sub utraque*, and acknowledging the Bohemian confession. This shall be done upon the condition, that a year shall intervene between the calling in of the capital and the actual payment, and that at the end of the year the debited party shall pay the whole capital and the interest (if such had been left in arrear). In the meantime the interests shall be regularly paid on St. George and St. Gall, in default of which the creditors shall have the power, by a chamberlain from Prague, to take possession and make use of the estates of the debtors or debtor, whether it be for the interests or the capital, whenever, and as often as necessary, until the capital, the interests, and the revenue of the other unredeemed estates belonging to the college be remitted to the said professors. The rest of the money, excepting 5,000 dollars, they shall keep by them against other incidents, and shall spend nothing of it without our consent, except what is requisite for the repair of the roofs, or what may be granted by the chief state officers, the assessors of the judicial courts, &c. to be expended for us. Of all this they shall give a proper account in every general diet, and they shall,

on the other hand, receive from us regular and sufficient discharges.

" Finally. Whereas the defenders are involved in no small trouble and labour in order that we all may serve the Lord our God in unity, according to his holy word, and live together in harmony, liberty, and security, to the salvation of our souls, and whereas they were chosen and induced by us to take this upon themselves to the best of their knowledge and ability—Therefore we, the above-mentioned lords, knights, inhabitants of Prague, and of the mining towns, and other delegates from other towns, all of the three united states *sub utraque*, who acknowledge the Bohemian confession, assembled at present in the general diet in the castle of Prague, all together and each separately, and for those absent, promise and engage by these our instructions and powers to the defenders chosen and appointed by us, true Christian fidelity and faithfulness, that we will shew these defenders all manner of love, homage and ready obedience in all those things to which these instructions and powers refer, as much and as often as shall be necessary, at all times and without complaint; that we shall in nowise forsake them, but rather, as it behoves Christian people, defend and protect them in all that we have laid upon them, and neither do nor permit it to be done otherwise. In case also that one of the defenders chosen by us, whether lord, knight or citizen, be no longer able or willing to continue in such labour of duty, and present to us, the states *sub utraque*, the cause thereof in the next following general diet, he shall be dismissed, after we shall have received the votes from the rank of the defen-

der enabling us to choose and appoint another in his place. All this we hereby promise and take upon us to will and to do."

A very important document, (*the articles of defence*), gives an account of the grievances which the Protestants at this period laboured under, and the measures which they adopted for their protection, as arranged and determined in this diet:—

"We declare (they say) and acknowledge before all men, that during the last few years, those of the reformed religion* in this kingdom of Bohemia, have had to suffer and painfully to endure, from the pretended Catholics, many great and intolerable grievances and tyrannical proceedings, on account of their open Christian confession. Thus many preachers and pastors of the states, have been violently dragged from their own houses; some of them ill-treated and tormented by hard imprisonment, and decried as heretics and pestilent seducers; and moreover shamefully deprived of their offices, and in their stead, popish mass-saying priests *sub una*, have been appointed and forced upon the states. Catholics have also strictly prohibited the exercise of the Christian religion in those churches which the states had, with great expense, built for that purpose; nay, they even closed and shut them up; and from several they took away the property, unwarrantably forbidding other churches to be built. They have prohibited the peasants, under a severe penalty, from giving or sending the tithes to their pastors. Not satisfied with this, the seditious, restless priests have denounced them in the pulpits as heretics, brands of hell and devils, and calumniated and

* This expression must not here be taken in a restricted sense.

injured them by other and similar calumnies and opprobrious names. They have prevented the dead bodies of the *sub utraque* from being buried in the churches and burial grounds, ordering them to be interred in the highways and other unseemly places, so as to lay them under the Rebenstein* (Ravenstone), and cover them over with dust. The ringing of bells, the marriage ceremonies, and baptisms, were refused to those who would not become Papists. Many of the nobility among the Papists have even forced their subjects *sub utraque* to apostatize and receive the Catholic doctrine, by imprisonment, by beating and by violently tearing open their mouths. Many persons of high rank were innocently impeached before the imperial chancery, and harshly dealt with; others were ordered to be detained at the castle. Those of lower rank were kept in prison for several weeks, and poor people have been forced to ransom themselves from the dungeon with considerable sums, so as to lose thereby all means of further subsistence, to the enrichment of the hooded monks, while they themselves were despised and mocked as heretics. Some of the lords compelled the vicars to resign their income and rents to the Jesuits, though they had actually bought them from his imperial majesty, and the deeds had been entered in the public registry; thus they were forced to abandon their purchased liberties, and contrary to all reason and honour were deprived of their lawful rights, thereby causing many tumults, threatenings, and rebellions. Comedies were performed, in which the reformed *sub utraque* were burlesqued and derided. Many were shamefully deposed of their offices solely on account of their religion; others were deprived of

* Place of execution.

their trades, business, and maintenance. Such were the grievances, outrages and offences, with all kinds of distress and misery, to which the Reformed were subject. And all this in direct violation of the Bohemian laws and diets, by which it had been expressly determined and provided, that no one party should injure another, but rather that both parties, the *sub una* and the *sub utraque*, should remain friends and stand together as one man. But the *sub una* have acted diametrically opposite to this, in order that all Christian love and union, as well as true religion, should entirely be abolished.

" Since then the three states of the crown of Bohemia *sub utraque* could no longer suffer and endure this, they humbly, for the fourth time, appeared before his imperial majesty, as their most gracious king, in the diet at Prague, not sparing nor valuing either time, enormous expenses, or their own welfare, and presenting certain powerful intercessions on their behalf, most humbly petitioned his imperial majesty to deign to ease and deliver them at once from those shameful grievances; to confirm and ratify religious liberty; to allow them peaceably to adhere to the Bohemian confession (also called the Augsburg confession, since it contains the Christian faith and articles drawn and compiled on the foundation of the Scriptures of God, as the same had already been presented to the Emperor Maximilian in the year 1575), and not to force conformity to the compactates which were annulled in the diet of 1567; to allow them to govern their own ministers, both German and Bohemian; to have the power of appointing such in their parishes, and no longer to submit to that

most unreasonable prohibition of burying the dead, ringing the bells, baptism and marriage ceremonies; moreover to give up to their authority, as always had been, the consistory and university, and to furnish these with new theologians and professors, as also to choose certain defenders, as their petition then presented expressed it more fully.

"But although in the diet of 1608 and in the mandate issued in 1609, the states obtained from his imperial majesty a promise that he would ratify their religious liberty and protect them in it, the states were hitherto still unable to obtain security for the performance of that promise. But, on the contrary, those *sub una*,* (though it is well known to the states that no occasion had been given them to raise such unnecessary and unreasonable troubles), seek to secure themselves by some of his imperial majesty's resolutions brought forth *sub et obreptitie*, and thus to separate themselves from the other states *sub utraque*. In the meantime no small dissension and uproar arose between the states, and it has been likewise commonly reported that musterings have been held in foreign countries, and that an army was actually in readiness; to what end and against whom every sensible man can easily judge.

"Wherefore, since one state is in some degree beholden and in duty bound to the other, they are unanimously and joyfully to defend, protect, and adhere to, first of all, his imperial majesty and this kingdom; then all good and laudable order and privilege; and chiefly the true worship and honour of the Almighty, each seeking the salvation of his own

* This brief designation of the two parties, *sub una* and *sub utraque*, was usual in common discourse.

soul; and moreover, whatever may preserve unmolested the true religion *sub utraque*, and also that of the *sub una*.

"Whereas also they have had experience, that this mischief hitherto has only originated in malicious agitators and counsellors,* who have purposely and spitefully given occasion to it, to the end that his imperial majesty might be entirely deprived of his crown of Bohemia, as he has heretofore lost Hungary, Moravia, and Austria, through evil counsel; that those of the *sub una* might alone retain the field, and the states *sub utraque* be cruelly persecuted and miserably thrust out of the country, and, to the great shame and reproach of the Bohemians, have their places filled with outlandish vagabonds.

"It is therefore impossible for the states to continue under such grievances, attacks, and dangers; and they remember that during the last year, while there was yet peace, his imperial majesty in the diet graciously announced to the states of this kingdom that he was labouring to establish a defence, that one country might assist the other in case of necessity. But his imperial majesty put this off from that year to the diet of last St. Martin, and in the meantime graciously ordered that certain meetings should be held throughout Bohemia for the necessary preparations and the raising of a considerable sum of money. Accordingly the lords, the knights, and the delegates of Prague and other towns, the three states *sub utraque*, in the name of the Holy Trinity, one everlasting and Almighty God, in a general assembly at the castle of Prague, unanimously confederated together

* Hereby are meant men from Spain and Italy, without the Bohemian national character.

and after sufficient and mature deliberation, finally determined on such a defence. For it is their aim not to be exposed to the dangers of the past year, when the states, (not a small portion of the country), were most unchristianly robbed and plundered, to the irrecoverable damage of many inhabitants. Wherefore, for the timely prevention of this, we all and every one, after due and mature consideration, are willing and purpose to establish that defence in the following manner :—

" First, that every one from the three states, as well as other inhabitants of the kingdom of Bohemia, shall be provided with a harnessed horse, and obliged from each landed estate, both on borrowed money and other duties, to contribute double the amount appointed in the diet of 1596. So that where there was then one horse there shall now be two, and where there were two there shall now be four, &c. So it shall also be observed, with regard to vassals, viz. every tenth and fifth man. These all and each shall hold themselves in readiness, whenever necessity shall require, that at whatever time they shall be called upon by the commissaries, they may be able without delay, upon horseback or on foot, to meet at the appointed places.

"Every one, whether baron, knight or citizen, shall appear either in person, or by representative, provided he be a good warrior, and render due obedience to the officers, counsellors and other commissaries. Then, under due penalty, they shall, as faithful and honest lovers of their country and his imperial majesty, defend and protect this kingdom of Bohemia, all the states, both *sub utraque* and *sub una*, and maintain law and good order, against all

peril, until everything shall be brought to its desired accomplishment.

" As officers and commanders over this army, the states *sub utraque* have chosen, from the nobility, as lieutenant, Lord Henry Matthew Count Thurn of Welischitz, counsellor of war to his imperial majesty; as field-marshal-general, Lord Leonhart Colonna-Fels of Engelsberg, counsellor of his imperial majesty. From the knighthood, as chief sergeant in the cavalry, John Bubna, junior, of Sawrschy. These officers shall join in counsel with the directors, officers and nobility chosen by the states, and with them direct, transact and decide according to the best of their abilities.

" And whereas they, the states, are concerned not only concerning the frontiers, but much more for his imperial majesty, this kingdom, and whatever else is most dear to them, their honours, lives, property, wives and children, for which the Bohemian nation was always and still is above all others renowned, and nothing of importance can be begun, much less carried on, without money; therefore, and for this important cause, the states *sub utraque* require, that all the imposts and contributions granted in the diet of 1596 (with the exception of the house-tax granted in the diet of this year), be paid to the persons hereafter mentioned (for to them the states have given full authority for the management of this matter), in two instalments, viz. one within four, and the second within ten weeks, from the beginning of the design. And no one shall refuse this on any pretext whatever, under a penalty to be named and fixed by the commissaries: but every one, as well becomes honest people, shall deliver the same with

the notice and register, by trustworthy men, at the proper place. But in case any one under obligation to pay the imposed contribution for his vassals, shall unlawfully burden them, by requiring it again from them, he shall pay double from his own purse.

"And whereas it is inconvenient for the states to remain longer assembled together, on account of their daily increasing expenses and other business requiring attention; and it is necessary that the frontiers should be protected; and as in these very important affairs a variety of circumstances and accidents may happen, requiring prompt deliberation and counsel, it is of the utmost importance to appoint godly men who love their king and country, are faithful, honest, constant, and careful, and wish well to their king and lord, and all other inhabitants, and by whose advice and opinion every thing may be rightly and well disposed; and since nothing can be begun or ended well without previous good counsel, the states have chosen certain lords as directors and governors of the defence.

"To these persons the states have given full power and authority, that they, together with the chief lieutenants,—who with the council of the three states *sub utraque* have been empowered to levy and enlist foreign troops, for the benefit of the states, for the sake of greater security, for the preservation of the free exercise of true christian religion, in which they may continue undisturbed and unmolested; and to appoint experienced officers—the field-marshals and other commanders may consult and unanimously agree together about a certain place, where necessity may most require it, and thither direct and lead the troops, and keep a part

of the same for their own security, and the protection of his imperial majesty, or call them together in extreme danger. They are also at all times to solicit the princes and electors, and other adjoining states and cities for aid, and implore them in due time. And if (which God forbid) one or another should be called from this world, or cannot, or for some cogent reasons will not, continue longer in the office entrusted to him, they shall, without loss of time, propose and appoint from among the states, men able and duly qualified for such office.

" But whoever shall undertake or venture any thing against his imperial majesty, and our beloved country, or act contrary to our arrangement and christian religion, and thus be found a disobedient and unfaithful subject, the same shall be severely and unpardonably punished, as the article of defence expresses itself more fully upon this subject. They shall especially and chiefly take care of all that may conduce to the honour and glory of God, the welfare of our king and country, the free exercise of the true religion *sub utraque*, the confirmation of the often-mentioned Bohemian confession, the protection and preservation of ancient privileges and liberties, and all other good and laudable arrangements (all which the three states entirely entrust to the hands of the above-mentioned persons), and they shall exercise and hold their office with all possible diligence and fidelity, so long and until all is brought to a desired end, and such office be withdrawn from them by the aforesaid three states. Whereupon the persons appointed have again on their part solemnly promised to the states that they will neither transact, undertake, nor engage in anything, whether

public or private, however unimportant, without their foreknowledge and approbation; nor forsake, nor desert them, nor be backward or negligent in their help and faithful support. If, moreover, any one from among the three states shall be summoned, in whatever form, or for whatever cause, he shall not be bound to obey and appear, or give answer to the citation, whether now or hereafter, unless it be issued by the appointed persons already mentioned, in a properly authorised form, and ordered by them for obedience, until all be successfully accomplished, and the end perfectly answered, for which these arrangements have been made.

" The states have, moreover, granted from their rents and revenues, for the support of the persons enrolled and deputed for this work, to each baron 160 guilders per month; to each knight, 140; to each citizen, 55. The whole of the states, and each in particular, appointed in the diet *sub litera* D 48, shall be bound, under pain of the penalty, to defend and faithfully protect the appointed delegates, not only during their present administration, but in future peaceful times, in any case of complaint maliciously brought against them, of whatever nature or form, touching the present affairs.

" Finally, this defence is also intended for the mutual benefit of all. Wherefore the states *sub utraque* of this kingdom of Bohemia, and others who adhere to the Bohemian confession, kindly entreat the states *sub una*, of whom they entertain good hope, on account of their consanguinity and near relationship, as also on account of their hitherto well maintained neighbourly correspondence, that they will once more reconsider this, and they faith-

fully exhort them, by the natural duties which they owe to his imperial majesty as their king and lord, and to their country, that they unite with them in taking upon themselves this most necessary defence, and that with them they unanimously aid in defending and protecting the Christian faith both *sub una* and *sub utraque*, and also his imperial majesty, our most gracious king and sovereign, our beloved country, and the crown of Bohemia against all danger; and for the preservation of Christian love and unity. If, therefore, the states *sub una* be willing to do this, and unite with them in this defence, they are all resolved and desire, by the help of Almighty God, to stand manfully by and adhere to his imperial majesty, with person and property, unto death; upon all which his majesty may rely with full confidence."

Another authentic source of information respecting that time of excitement, is the work of Mich. Spanowsky, entitled "Confessio Bohemica Evangelica."*

The following passage refers to the putting an end to the defence, which, as we have seen, was prepared by the Evangelicals.

"At the request and by command of his imperial majesty,—(namely, now that the states had obtained religious liberty, the consistory, the university, and the document of the charter,)—the three states *sub utraque* have desisted from the defence, and the levying and maintaining of troops, and sent them out of the country. But the Emperor promises not to remember it to the disadvantage of those who allowed themselves to be

* Nurenberg, 1621, 107 pages.

instrumental in effecting this armed defence, nor to permit any one, whether of the clergy or the laity, whether in the name of the Emperor or any one else, now or in future, to take revenge upon them on this account, either by word or deed; nor to injure them in name, person, wife, or child; nor to trouble them by burdens, citations, inducements, orders, and disappointments; nor to seek vengeance by levying and keeping troops, under whatever pretext, form, or cause human subtlety may invent, without the knowledge and consent of the whole country."——It is well known that this agreement was not kept.

That they were really in earnest in their preparations for defence, is evident from the alliance which the utraquistic states formed with Silesia, on the 25th of June, 1609. In the articles of that union we find these expressions: "If they, or their subjects, or co-religionists, be disturbed or oppressed in their Christian religion, in churches, schools, consistory, or anything belonging to it, be it under whatever pretence or semblance, whether of rebellion* or any other thing which the enemies of God and his word know how and are too capable of inventing and carrying out; and as this is likely to take place, they, the Evangelical states of the crown of Bohemia, intend most promptly and in all haste to come within a month to their aid, on the first request, with 1,000 levied horse and 2,000 levied servants, at their (the Bohemian states') own costs; upon the second request, again within a month as before, with 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot; and then, upon the utmost necessity, with their utmost force, for

* Persecution and punishment went by this name.

the protection of their king, themselves, their wives and children, and the whole country."

The Evangelicals having gained their object, could now forget their arms. The charter had produced satisfaction, joy, and hope, and their churches and schools began to flourish; and though they were not ignorant of the dissatisfaction occasioned thereby to the Jesuitical party, they nevertheless depended upon the charter which so fully secured their liberties,—and, alas! they relied upon it too securely.

CHAPTER VI.

LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN PRAGUE—PROTESTANT ARRANGEMENTS—MUTUAL OFFENCES—JESUITS AND PREBENDARIES—INVASION OF THE PASSAUERS.

THE ecclesiastical affairs of the Protestants, which were now in a flourishing state, deserve a closer examination, in so far as relates to the extension of the Church, and the appointment of its ministers; the constitution and administration of the consistory have already been detailed.

Of the non-catholics legalised by the charter, the Utraquists already possessed the Bethlehem, the old Corpus-christi, the St. Gall, and ten other churches in Prague, besides many in the country. But now the new Protestants, viz. those Catholics and Utraquists who had gone over to the Lutherans and the Reformed, were also permitted to build churches. Among the temples which the German Lutherans erected about this time in Prague, two were distinguished by their magnificence, and no longer receiving their name from saints, were called "Trinity" and "Salvator." The one is in the old town, and other in the Kleinseite. The foundation of the former was laid on the 19th of July, 1611. It was three years in building, and cost 62,000 florins. After the expulsion of the Evangelicals, it was granted to the Paulites, and is now called Maria de Victoria. The latter, the German Salvator church (afterwards given to the Carmelites), was begun on

the 27th July, 1611, under the superintendence of the Saxon court chaplain, Dr. Matthias Hoe, of Hoenegg,* and Dr. Seussius, secretary to the electoral embassy. The site, not far from the house which once had been the residence of Huss, was purchased by the Lutheran inhabitants of Kleinseite; and the foundation-stone was laid by William Popl, baron of Lobkowitz, in the presence of many thousand spectators. It was built of freestone, in three years and two months. A minute account of its consecration is still extant; and of the sermon delivered by the vicar, Tobias Winter, from Isaiah xxviii. 16. Among the armorial bearings in the church was that of Count Schlik, the most zealous adherent of the Augsburg confession. He also presented the church with a new pulpit, which was consecrated by Dr. Helwig Garth.† The present Simon-Judas church, in the old town, seems also

* This learned, eloquent, and active, but undecided man, was born at Vienna in 1580, and so distinguished by his talents, that when only twenty-two years of age he was appointed court chaplain of Saxony. Afterwards he went to Plauen as superintendent; from 1611 to 1613 he had the management of Lutheran church affairs in Prague, and died in 1645 chief court chaplain of Saxony. At his farewell sermon in Prague the attendance was so great that to reach the pulpit he was obliged to be lifted above the heads of the people. He was much respected, but had also many enemies. So bitter was his opposition to the Reformed, that he declared he would prefer being a Turk to a Calvinist! Afterwards he was accused of receiving bribes, and was certainly instrumental in delivering up Count Schlik to his enemies. See Gleich's Lives of the Court Chaplains, ii. 1, &c.

† Garth was an able and active man, afterwards superintendent in Oschatz and Freiburg. In 1618 he published at Wittemberg an account of his disputation at Prague with the Jesuit Neubauer. He died in 1629. See Dietmann's Priesthood, i. 387.

to have been begun by the Protestants in 1614. It was finished in 1618.

They immediately availed themselves of the liberty they now possessed to establish evangelical schools with their churches. And it was a truly solemn day when a Lutheran school was consecrated in the old town of Prague, by the rector, Peter Ailber, who had come from Oelsnitz in Voigtland, and afterwards died in Saxony. On the 15th of November, 1611, those who were invited assembled in the Kreuzkirche. There were 210 scholars, divided into six classes.* These children, adorned with garlands, were led from the school to the Kreuzkirche, where they sang, kneeling in the choir, "Come, Holy Ghost!" Afterwards Hoe preached from the 127th Psalm. On the following day, the defenders, ecclesiastical counsellors, and seniors, with the nobility, the members of the consistory and university, the clergy, and other learned men, assembled in the school, when Hoe delivered a Latin address, "De felicitate regni Bohemiæ." He then consecrated the building, and installed the tutors Ailber, Knorre, and Kaltbrunn, after addressing the teachers and scholars. The rector also delivered a Latin address, pointing out the method of instruction intended to be pursued. There were eight tutors appointed, who had been invited from Leipzig. Paul Cruppius, who will often be mentioned hereafter, was conrector in the gymnasium of the Kleinseite. Elementary and girls' schools were also formed, and mention is made of a school of St. Peter's, in the new town.

* Among them was Leonhard Frederic, Hoe's son, then only four years old, who died equerry in 1638.

Though we have no precise information of the progress of the Reformation in other towns, yet that the Protestants continued to increase, and the anger of the monks consequently grew fiercer, is acknowledged even by Catholic writers themselves. Of Calvinistic church affairs, which only became prominent in 1620, we shall speak hereafter. With regard to the introduction of Protestantism to the Bohemian towns and villages, beyond the suburbs of the capital, which had begun in 1609, and is traceable even prior to 1530, we have less information than we possess respecting its suppression, which commenced about the year 1622. It is computed that in 1622 there were in the country about 500 Evangelical clergymen; many of whose ancestors had officiated in the same parishes for several generations, and maintained an intimate relationship with Saxony, as has already been mentioned; indeed, numberless cases might be adduced of Bohemians officiating in Saxony and Lusatia, and *vice versâ*, proving that the country of Bohemia was then full of Protestant parish ministers.

This interchange between Saxony and Bohemia extended also to school offices. Thus, for instance, the schoolmaster of Warrensdorf in Bohemia, Joachim Englemann, was born in Grosschönau in Saxony, and he returned again to Saxony to become schoolmaster in Herwigsdorf. All these examples clearly shew the mutual love and good understanding which existed between the two countries.

These favourable circumstances and peaceful times of the Protestant church were not allowed to remain altogether undisturbed by the Popish clergy. We acknowledge that the Protestants themselves may

often have failed in maintaining the bond of charity, especially the ministers, by their polemical sermons and offensive expressions: "Yet," says a writer who was well informed in these affairs, "where ours failed *once*, the opposite party committed themselves *tenfold*."

"I will shew," says the same author in another place, "how the little threads began to be spun together, that gently and by degrees became twisted into a Gordian knot, which was scarcely possible for anything to solve but the sword."

The Utraquists had a long time maintained the statute granted them by Sigismund in 1435, that none should obtain a citizenship or hold offices in Prague, or any other city, unless he belonged to their body. The Jesuits, however, succeeded in obtaining this privilege for one of the *sub una*, through the medium of the chancellor Perstein;* under Rudolph they introduced even an apostate into the council; then several *sub una* were insidiously brought in, and finally they obtained the entire abrogation of that article of the diet, which required counsellors to be *sub utraque*. The compactates, which Maximilian abolished, were again brought into force, and this occasioned continual confusion and oppression. The priests *sub utraque* were called upon to swear that they believed what the Romish church believes; that the Pope was the head of the church, and that they would not marry. Not only citizens but even professors were required to be present at the processions, though the decree of the diet freed them from it. Processions were held

* This was in 1570, the man was Sebastian Agricola, a favourite of the high chancellor Count Wratislaw Perstein.

in utraquistic churches, some compliant persons from the *sub utraque* were invited; attempts were made to accustom the people again to the ceremonies, and to introduce variance and disunion. Curates were exiled, churches closed, burying grounds taken away, death threatened for domestic worship; non-catholics under false allegations were cast into prisons, where they were alternately threatened and allured; attending on evangelical preaching was rigorously forbidden; and marriages and baptisms by evangelical ministers were interdicted. When they succeeded in gaining over an Evangelical to their side, they made a great show of him. He was led into the church, and to jeer the Evangelicals, great commendation bestowed upon him from the pulpit. Delinquents were pardoned, as soon as they became Catholics; priests and schoolmasters in utraquistic parishes were ejected; and such as were *sub una* appointed in their stead. The writings of the Evangelicals must pass the censorship of the Catholics, while the latter were allowed to print their works, though full of threatening, calumny, and abuse. Evangelicals were compelled to deliver into the Government office their church registers, privileges and bonds.

Since Rudolph, after the grant of the charter no longer interfered, attempts were at once made to invalidate it. They said, that it was only forced from him, and was not signed by all who ought to have signed it, as, for example, the high court chancellor and enemy of the utraquists, Zbinko Lobkowitz; some looked upon it merely as an act of toleration; others maintained that the Evangelicals never kept its conditions; and some even declared

it to have been forged. But matters became worse under Matthias. He even gave benefices from the utraquists to the archbishop; the Protestant clergy were called unordained impostors, cursed heretics; their books were seized and burned; such of their churches as stood upon episcopal or abbey lands, were razed to the ground. But their condition became still more intolerable under Ferdinand II., who at Loretto, and afterwards at Zell in Styria, had made a vow to the Virgin Mary, to root out all heretics, even if it cost him his life. Cardinal Melchior Clesel, who lived at that time, was less furiously disposed; but Ferdinand told him, that he would rather have a depopulated country, than anathematized subjects. But that Clesel himself, beyond doubt, hated the utraquists, appears from their second apology, nor would he rest until an end was made of the defenders; he was only not severe enough for Ferdinand."

According to this representation, attempts to invalidate and destroy the charter continued throughout several years; and Jacobäi adds, moreover, that exertions were made to remove the able evangelical clergy, and substitute unqualified ones, provided that they in some measure flattered the Catholics.

The chief hearth whereon the fire was continually stirred up against the Evangelicals, was in the college of Jesuits and in the cathedral. The priests spoke disdainfully of the charter and the religious peace; wrote abusive works against the evangelicals and pretended refutations of their doctrines; gave them opprobrious names, and publicly declared, that they deserved fire and sword; that what had been promised and written needed not to be observed; that

what the Emperor had sealed the church could unseal, since the charter was granted without license of the Pope. Pope Paul V. had already protested against it, through the above-named Jesuit Cardinal Clesel, who being a great political meddler, was uniformly opposed to the conclusions of the diet, and by his influence the petitions of the Evangelicals were wholly disregarded.

In the cathedral especially the greatest exertions were used to repress the non-catholics and revive Popery anew. The chapters, in league with Slawata, Martinitz, and other powerful Catholics, in their conferences, spared no pains to effect this object. They had, indeed, weighty reasons for their conduct, remembering that the great schism and declension of the 15th and 16th centuries had brought nothing but misfortune to the Bohemian nation; and also, that according to their views of the catholic constitution there were many things well-ordered and well-intended, by the decisions of the Synod of Prague in 1605, which enacted more than the common clergy put into practice.

Before entering upon the sad times of mutual violence, which distinguished the reigns of Matthias and Ferdinand II. we must speak of the deplorable events which made the year 1611 so terrible to the Bohemians. This was the dreadful invasion by the troops of Passau.

The archduke Leopold of Austria, now bishop of Passau, was much discontented with the grant which the Protestants had extorted from the emperor Rudolph. He wanted to retrieve and restore by force of arms all that which in his opinion had been lost or thrown away; and therefore made an incursion

into Bohemia, as is supposed with the connivance of the emperor, at the head of 9000 ferocious soldiers.* Contemporary chroniclers are replete with accounts of the barbarity and cruelty of these troops, their plunder and burning, their rapine and murder. Everywhere they spread terror and wretchedness, as "an insolent, rapacious and lawless set." This was called "the Leopoldine tumult," and some supposed that Leopold, envying the future king Matthias the crown of Bohemia, attempted to seize it for himself. The historian Pelzel gives us the following description of these Passauer troops, and we are the more disposed to speak of their proceedings, since the sufferings of the Protestants are our chief object, against whom the barbarians practised their ferocities with two-fold cruelty:—

It was given out that they were destined for Germany, to take part in the dispute about the Juliers succession. Their commanders were Lewis count of Sulz, Adolph count of Althan, Adam Trautmannsdorf and Laurence Ramee. They marched from Passau to Upper Austria, and thence hastily into Bohemia, where they took Budweis, Krumau, Pisek, and Tabor. It was believed that their intention was to deprive the states of the charter. Rudolph pretended indeed that this invasion was without his foreknowledge and against his will, but there is no doubt of his intention to oppose Leopold to Matthias. He exhorted the states to adopt measures for repelling the invaders. The Passauers however soon took Beraun, and encamped upon the White-hill before Prague, at which time the archduke Leopold was present in the city with the Emperor. The troops then

* As mercenary troops are usually only joined by depraved men.

feigned a retreat, and having lulled the citizens into security, suddenly turned and fell upon them, killing several men, and wounding their commander Count Thurn, who was compelled to retire; but many of the Passauers who forced their way into the old town were cut down. Some of them took shelter in the monasteries, where the people followed them, and killed the canons and monks in Emaus, upon the Wissehrad, in Karlshof, and in Mariaschnee. The Jesuits, against whom the populace were now about to proceed, were protected by certain troops under the command of George Wratislow Mitrowitz, and Wenzel and William Wchinsky.

As the Emperor was not desirous for the removal of the Passauers, the states made preparations to drive them out, and sent to Matthias at Vienna, requesting protection against them; Budowa likewise went to Moravia, craving assistance from thence. They soon arrived, and upon their standard was declared their intention, *contra Ramee.* Upon this the Emperor became uneasy, and sent a lord of Dohna to treat with the states, but he was not permitted to address them in the German language. The then chief burgrave delivered an excellent speech in the Bohemian language, and it was agreed that as soon as the Passauers should really have departed, the Bohemian troops would swear allegiance to the Emperor. The commander-in-chief of the Passauers, who had been taken prisoner, declared upon the rack that the Bohemians had been suspected of an intention to dethrone the Emperor, for which cause they had come to convey him to Passau; but had determined war and death against Matthias, and, moreover, resolved to remove

all heretics from Prague; that in the last consultation there were present not only the Jesuit Henry Agnentius, but also Berka Duba, Martinitz, and Slawata. To obtain more information, the unhappy Tengnagel was tortured several times afterwards. On the arrival of 8000 Hungarians, whom Matthias had sent to the assistance of the Bohemians, the Passauers marched out of the country by way of Budweis after a skirmish near Hlubositz.

The invasion of Upper Lusatia by the Passauers had also been a hindrance to the publication of the charter granted to Lusatia. For the charter of Bohemia did not include that country.

From the following contemporary document we have a more detailed account of these proceedings, which will serve as an introduction to those stormy times that were about to follow :—

"The delegates of the princes then present at the imperial court officially reported that the Passauers, on the 16th February at six o'clock in the morning, suddenly and without any previous intimation, arrived at Prague, with about 4000 men of their army, both horse and foot in order of battle, and at first cut down all they met in the streets; they took possession of various places, and shot whosoever was seen from the houses; they then proceeded by Witsch-street through the Schwibbogen to the exchequer chamber; to which place the inhabitants, as soon as they were informed of it, hastened with 500 horse under the command of Count Thurn, and engaged them in an obstinate fight. When the states perceived that they had lost about 100 men they retreated across the bridge into the old town, and the Passauer

Trendill pursued them closely with three cornets of horsemen, whilst the populace from their rear broke down the railing, pointed the guns against them, and so cut them off that they were unable to return to the Jesuit college, or to receive reinforcements.

"In this engagement there fell on the part of the Passauers 600 men besides the three cornets of cavalry. But here it must not be lost sight of, that the Tuesday before Ash Wednesday, there had been several traitors in the Kleinseite, who prepared the Catholics by signifying, that they should display white flags from their windows, in order that their houses might incur no danger, &c.; and that the Catholics should point out those Bohemian and German Lutheran houses, which were best filled with silver and gold. The Italians who had shops and stalls retained their property, and aided in betraying the Lutherans and despoiling them of their effects. But when the Bohemians and Lutherans perceived this, they also put out white flags and handkerchiefs, and barricadoed the fronts of their houses with steps, chairs, benches and stones, and threw money from the windows. The massacre and plunder continued three days, until at length the states besieged the Kleinseite, stopping up all the streets, and preventing all access to it. This was soon followed by great dearth, so that what eight days before could have been obtained for a single groschen, was now sold for six or seven. This arose from the fact, that during fourteen days all intercourse was cut off with the old town, where every thing could be plentifully obtained at a moderate price.

"Previous to this invasion seventeen senators and citizens had assembled in the senate house of the

Kleinseite, where they for some time defended themselves, until Ramee himself broke in and slew them all. The Passauers neither spared friend nor foe, but wherever they discovered booty there they ran. Among others they took from a widow 15,000 dollars; Bartel Brunner they entirely despoiled, and the wine they could not drink they left to run out.

"The silk warehouses, the silversmith, sword-cutler, shoemaker and drapery shops, as also the Saxon warehouse, they entirely emptied; taking possession of all the houses, they demanded the keys, disarmed the people, and seized the goods.

"When these outrages were over, the Archduke Leopold, who in the meantime had continued near the city, presented himself in full armour, accompanied by the commanders Ramee, Altheim, the elder count of Solms, and many others, and rode up and down the streets, joyously and triumphantly observing the spectacle, and firing off a few muskets. The dead bodies, both of men and horses, were on the next day removed from the streets and houses, and soon after the people were assembled, to whom a declaration was read that the Archduke Leopold having been appointed captain-general by his majesty to punish the disobedient states *in genere*, whoever would at once acknowledge and swear to him as general, should thereby save his life; but whoever refused should be immediately put to death.

"After they had given their oath as a powerless, conquered people, the Archduke with his company took up their residence in Henckels-house; and though the levied soldiers of the Bohemians

maintained themselves three days longer upon the Retschin under Lord Volsz, they finally surrendered, being nearly starved; and in order to save their lives they also took the oath.

"Count Thurn, who had been wounded by a musket ball, though not mortally, was committed to the custody of the High Chancellor Poppel. The Passauers spread the report that his majesty had not for a long time been so delighted and good-humoured; the Archduke Leopold also at this time had in his keeping the treasure of the insignia of royalty and the charter.

"The Passauers in their search for booty proceeded to the old town and attacked the college of the Jesuits; but the states, having previously received the keys from the fathers, had placed 300 soldiers in it, under command of Captain Krage, by whom the marauders were driven back.

"On the 7th of March, between eight and nine o'clock, the troops of the king of Hungary, consisting of 8000 men, all Germans, marched into Prague, of whom twenty-eight squadrons are cuirassiers, and the rest infantry, well armed, under the command of lord Siegfried Collonitzsch. The Praguers went out to meet them with 400 horse. These troops have in part been quartered in the villages and towns of the neighbourhood. It is supposed that within three days the king will arrive in person with the remainder, accompanied by the Duke of Brunswick and lord Wallenstein.

"The eleven waggons which have been seized at Welbern must contain a great deal (as some of them belong to Ramee) of gold, jewels, precious stones, and plate of great value. There is doubtless much

of it belonging to Leopold. Among the prisoners are found Leopold's privy-counsellors Dennagel and Melebochen, and others of his officers; together with the secretary of Ramee. In this attack at Welbern an English envoy was also taken; but he will be escorted back to Rautnitz to-day.

"The troops from Passau are now much chap-fallen. They assert that they know nothing of the real circumstances, or that they were to have been thus led on; declaring themselves innocent, they desire to be allowed to depart unmolested, and are almost ready to deliver up their commanders and officers.

"Leopold remains still in Henckels-house. Lord Plateis, the Bohemian secretary's house in the old town, was attacked yesterday and plundered by the people. Three carpenters, who first broke in the doors, have been delivered up to justice by order of the states.

"The castle Schlieben, belonging to Lady Hofmänn, a quarter of a mile from Prague, has been given up to be plundered by the soldiers, because she had assisted the Passauers with some waggon loads of provisions. They have regularly assaulted it, broken all the iron railings, and pulled everything down. They also plundered the peasants and the estates; all the bedding, which was there in great quantity, they tore and cut in pieces, so that they walked up to their ankles in feathers. There is, however, thank God, no want of provisions either in the new or the old town, and they are sold at a reasonable price.

"But those in the Kleinseite suffer great privation. The Passauers had indeed money enough, but they

could get nothing for it, and perceiving this, they broke up in the night and went away. On the road they again attacked the peasants, took what they could, and travelled day and night to reach Budweis. But the Bohemians lay in wait for them on the road, and near Steinitz the latter cut off near 400 men of their rear, and retook three waggons, laden with shoes, cloth, silks, and other things, which they had carried away from the Kleinseite.

" In Budweis the Passauers, well provided with ammunition, shut themselves up, knowing that King Matthias would soon arrive from Hungary with a strong army of various nations.

" Budweis was immediately besieged by the King's army, but no assault or battle has as yet taken place. God only knows what the result will be; for the Bohemians will not rest until their enemies are driven out of the country or cut in pieces. May God Almighty help the innocent, and bring it to a good end. Amen."

CHAPTER VII.

PERIOD OF THE EMPEROR MATTHIAS.—APPOINTMENT OF FERDINAND II.—OPPRESSION OF THE PROTESTANTS—DISTURBANCES AT BRAUNAU AND KLOSTERGRAB—COUNT THURN—SLAWATA AND MARTINITZ—VIOLENT CONDUCT OF THE DEFENDERS.

We are now arrived at the important reign of the Emperor Matthias. Rudolph, in 1608, had already resigned Austria and Hungary to him, and provisionally conceded to him the title of King. But as Rudolph seemed to prefer the Archduke Ferdinand of Gräz or Styria for his successor, Matthias came suddenly with an army, and, assisted by the states, forced his brother in 1611 to deliver up Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia to him. Rudolph, though unwillingly, resigned the crown, and died in a dejected state on the 20th of January, 1612. Even a Catholic writer thus passes judgment on him: "Rudolph was himself the chief cause of his misfortunes. As long as he was tolerant, and left the Bohemians to their own religious rites, all went on well, and according to his own wish. But from the moment when he allowed himself to be misled by the monks to persecute the non-catholics and exclude them from all honours, his reverse o fortune began."

The Protestants looked with some degree of confidence towards the new king, and believed that he would maintain their religious liberty; partly as he had already granted the Austrians their wished-for privileges, and partly because he had pro-

mised toleration to the Bohemians at his coronation, according to the charter ratified by him on 21st May, 1611. He was obliged to do this for the sake of the nobles of Bohemia, who desiring the best for themselves, procured the crown for him.

It by no means augured well for the Protestants, that the Jesuit, cardinal Melchior Clesel of Vienna,* was his adviser and favourite; for he had expressed his wish to deprive them of all their privileges, and had even made preparations for their destruction. The Jesuits were at all times instigating the overthrow of Protestantism. They wished now especially to provoke the Protestants to rebellion or some hasty and imprudent measure, which might implicate them in guilt: in the first place by giving them offence, and then depriving them of all redress, even of obtaining an audience of the Emperor. The Evangelical states constantly made their humble petitions against these provocations, to the governor, to the liege lords, or to the body of the states. But they either received no answers at all, or such as were unfavourable, and it was frequently indicated to them that Matthias did not wish to be importuned with such complaints. Their meetings were interdicted, contrary to the privileges granted by the charter, and their appeal to the defenders was declared altogether invalid. The court pronounced their requests unreasonable, and prohibited further importunities,—thus every prospect of obtaining redress was entirely cut off.

* On this remarkable man, see Henke's Church Hist. iii. 326. He, with Cardinal Caraffa and the secretary of state, Paul Michna, were the principal enemies of the Protestants. There was yet a degree of mildness in Clesel.

The defenders were, in fact, in a difficult position. The people found fault with their exhortations to patience, and they were continually upbraided with want of courage, with negligence and indecision. There were many who sought to arouse them, by representing the necessity of self-defence, and that the utmost ought to be tried *now*. At one time they had conferences, and at others they had church intercession. By the frequent provocations given to the Evangelicals, they were finally driven to the most passionate and impetuous, the most eventful and deplorable acts of violence. After having been unjustly reproached by an erroneous and intolerant party, for their abuse of the charter, then followed the well-grounded reproach on account of acts of violence, which alas, some passionate men among the Protestants, had been provoked to commit, and which could never be revoked. But to the Catholic party these acts were most welcome.

" We," say the authors of the Book of Persecutions, " were already ensnared under Matthias, but were not aware of our near approach to ruin. Nay, we loudly triumphed,* as if liberty of conscience was now ensured. But alas, new intrigues of the enemies became more and more evident, though not so tangible, as after that Ferdinand of Styria had obtained the throne, of which Rudolph had before been apprehensive."

The Emperor Matthias was old, and childless; and as his brothers the Archdukes Albert and Maximilian had no son, he had adopted a prince related

* In 1617, on the commemoration of the Reformation anniversary, when some Evangelical ministers forgot themselves in their joy, and preached unguardedly.

to the family. This adopted son, whom he intended for his successor on the throne, was his cousin Duke Ferdinand of Styria, a grandson, like himself, of Ferdinand I. Suddenly and unexpectedly Matthias arrived with him from Vienna, whither the imperial residence had been transferred, to the great displeasure of the citizens of Prague, (1617); and summoned a diet. In the mean time he went with Ferdinand to Dresden to recommend him to the Elector of Saxony.

On the meeting of the Diet, which was not fully attended, it being harvest time, and the grandees of Bohemia remaining upon their estates, Matthias addressed the states; he spoke of his want of issue, and the adoption he had made; commending Ferdinand to them, and expressing his wish that every possible commotion on account of the succession to the throne might be avoided. He did not as yet expressly declare that Ferdinand should be acknowledged as his successor; the states, however, perceived his intention, and were dissatisfied at the hasty nature of his proceedings. They intimated that nothing could be done as yet, since the states of the incorporated countries, Silesia, Moravia and Lusatia, who ought necessarily to be present at such transaction, were now absent. Matthias being, however, of opinion, that those states would follow the example of Bohemia, would have no delay, since his decease was probably not far off.

The states were especially irritated at being called upon to *receive* Ferdinand, and not to *choose* him. Recourse was therefore had to flattery, threatening, and all kinds of intrigue. Several of the nobles went away dissatisfied. Thurn, Fels, and others of the

evangelical states formally opposed the wish of the Emperor; for they trembled at the idea of Ferdinand governing Bohemia, since he was known to be a strict and obstinate Romanist. They knew well how the Protestants had been treated by him when he began to reign over Styria in 1599, notwithstanding the free exercise of their religion had been granted to them in 1578, by the archduke Charles. There he had shewn himself an inexorable zealot for the Popish faith, for (though he tolerated the Jews), he had prohibited the Lutheran worship by three successive edicts, banished the ministers, burned the Protestant books, and endeavoured to convert the whole land to Popery, occupying himself chiefly with the arrangement of convents. They had then good cause to fear that he would treat them in the same manner.* Nay, afterwards, when he had really become emperor, the Protestants expressed themselves decidedly, saying that they would rather have the devil for their master, than Ferdinand with his Jesuitical principles. For his oppression and proscription of the Protestants in his own dominions as archduke, was chiefly through the advice of his Jesuit confessor, bishop Stobeus of Laibach.

Ferdinand had received a strictly papistical education, partly from the Jesuits and partly from Duke William of Bavaria. He always remained in con-

* See Pelzel, ii. 684, on the causes of such fear. Even in 1596 there was an anti-reformation going on in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Remarkable statements will hereafter be given from the records of the Styrian commission of this anti-reformation, which justify the apprehension of the Bohemians. Such special histories would here interrupt the connexion.

nexion and friendship with the Jesuits; all his steps were guided by the members of that order, according to the maxims of Dilling. Thus he was quite the man desired by the strict Catholic party,—namely, one wholly and unrelentingly given to the papal church. "He yielded himself entirely," said a Catholic writer, "to the guidance of the clergy, but chiefly of the Jesuits and other monks, even in political affairs. Hence originated his great intolerance and hatred against all who would not be Roman Catholics."* His character was reserved and gloomy; he obstinately followed his partial and limited views of religion, and the opposers of reform, of course, judged this to be praiseworthy faithfulness and firmness; they even at times extol the goodness of his character.

Ferdinand insisted upon having no heretics among his subjects. He considered it to be the duty of a ruler to crush the Protestants; especially as the example of Bohemia seemed to prove, to his misguided judgment, that religious separation was attended with injurious results; and therefore he resolved that all his subjects should be of the same religion with himself. His zeal was inflamed against every opinion deviating from the doctrines agreed upon in the Council of Trent, and in his vitiated mind Protestants could not be included in the rank of fellow-Christians.

It is not necessary that we as Protestants should

* The above-mentioned Melchior Clesel, bishop of Vienna, advised that all Lutheran heretics should be exterminated, and by no means tolerated, though it should even cause the loss of country and life. See the like sentiment in Salig, Hist. of the Augsburg Confession, 778, seq.

judge his conduct the less severely, although it should be retorted upon us that Lutheran rulers at that time made the same demands on their subjects; and that the Calvinists in Saxony, and the Catholics and Puritans in England, were expelled with equal rigour.

Augustus of Saxony, otherwise an excellent prince, wrote once to the Emperor Maximilian about the learned Caspar Peucer: "I will that my subjects shall think in religion as I myself think." The Emperor replied: "You will never effect this; for it is neither in our power to command spirits, nor to force the faith of any one." Augustus then sent this message to Peucer, "Unless you change your faith and acknowledge the doctrines which I and my theologians have settled, obstinately persisting in your opinions, you will engulf yourself with all the devils in everlasting punishment."

The papal mandate, which the nuncio Cardinal Caraffa brought with him, openly and plainly pointed out the fate of the Protestants. Ferdinand is also said to have declared: 'that he would rather with his consort and children, take a staff in his hand and beg his bread from door to door, than have a heretic in his service, or even tolerate one in his dominions.' In this bigoted opinion he had even made earnest prayer to become an instrument for the extermination of heretics; and would rather hazard his life and his empire, than allow the suppression of the Catholic faith in his dominions, or neglect the extirpation of what he conceived to be a false religion. He was determined to persevere in this opinion to the grave; and that he might not be moved to the contrary, he refused to be petitioned

by the Protestants. The following account of his blind zeal* is given by a Catholic writer.

" It was from that firm and only faith, whereby his soul did cling to God and his divine mysteries, that that fervent zeal sprang, to protect and spread the Catholic religion, whereby he came up to and surpassed the most praiseworthy of his predecessors, and left his successors a true example for imitation. When he was only twenty years old, and had ascended the throne, he made a vow to God at Loretto before the Virgin Mary, to expel all sects and their doctrine from Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, were it even with the hazard of his own life.† The like vow he made in his 43rd year, being then Emperor and King of Bohemia and Hungary. Finally, eight years before his death, he bound himself by vow, to lose no opportunity which God might afford him, of promulgating in every way, by fair and lawful means, the Catholic faith in Hungary, hitherto so Catholic and pious, and under protection of the holy Virgin so mighty and happy a land. He also encouraged and induced one of his counsellors, whose assistance he stood most in need of, to make the like vow; who had also to promise to watch and to assist the emperor's zeal with all his power."

In order that the reader may more fully understand the cause of the prevalent feeling against Ferdinand, we insert here the religious edict which he issued after the anti-reformation of Gräz, dated

* Lamormain, on the *virtues* of Ferdinand, declares that Ferdinand must have brought about 100,000 souls to the Catholic faith.

† The accounts of this will be given hereafter, and that from Catholic statements.

September 12, 1602, and which was doubtless known to the Bohemians. After referring to a mandate of the preceding year, against "those schismatic leaders, preachers, writers, and schoolmasters, who were found in all places of his hereditary principality," and which mandate by "daily painful experience he knew was wilfully transgressed, and its penalties held in utter contempt," the edict thus proceeds:—

"We have therefore taken upon us, and it is now our firm decision, strenuously to protect and maintain our princely authority against such transgressors, in this and other cases, and to allow none other religion or faith to be exercised in these principalities and states committed to our care by God, but the one we have received from the original Roman Catholic church, and the chief pastors and elders of the same, without spot or wrinkle (?!!), and in which we were born, baptized, and nurtured; and to overturn and abolish everything else contrary to it with our utmost power.* Wherefore, for the introduction and preservation of a general stricter obedience, it is our will to renew, increase, and improve, for the information and warning of all, the aforesaid general mandate. And because positive experience, both in these and other lands, has more than sufficiently proved, that wherever the free exercise of their mistaken religion was allowed to these schismatic preachers, or their public or private communion tolerated, it has been in many respects prejudicial and injurious to the constitution and the repu-

* Can it then be surprising that the utraquistic and protestant Bohemians were so urgent for the exclusion of Ferdinand from the throne?

tation of the Catholic princes and potentates, and engendered all sorts of hostile and rebellious practices:

"We therefore earnestly desire that it be enacted, instituted, and ordered, that the schismatic preachers, as known rebels against the high princely authority, as troublers and destroyers of the general peace, with their schoolmasters and adherents, be again *for ever* expelled from these principalities and states, under the previously appointed punishment of death; and whoever, after the publication of this edict, shall deliver up alive to our respective authorities, or their assistants, such a condemned person, with authentic information regarding him, shall receive three hundred dollars as a reward* without fail from the prince's exchequer.

"Moreover, our command is that no one of our countrymen or subjects of whatever degree shall have any intercourse, under the penalty of confiscation of property or bodily punishment, with schismatic preachers, teachers or schoolmasters, in any way or under any pretence. It is, also, our will and desire that all persons, of the nobility, farmers, citizens and peasants of our principalities and estates, and all their households, who have hitherto not joined our holy Catholic religion, but remained schismatics, shall either lay hold upon salutary conversion, by confession and communion through an ordained Catholic clergyman, within six weeks from the publication of this, without fail; or pay a fine at the rate of the tenth-penny (the computation and payment of which we intend to

* Of so much importance was it with their enemies to exclude the Lutheran clergy.

regulate when necessity shall require), and quit our hereditary principalities, within fourteen days from the expiration of the above-mentioned peremptory term, never to return again except by special license and previous permission, under penalty of the confiscation of all his property. Those, however, who on account of their obstinacy have already been commanded to quit the country, but have hitherto not been expelled, are also bound to pay the fine already imposed, under penalty of having their property confiscated, within fourteen days from the publication of this general mandate. But, regarding the refractory schismatic officers and servants of the country, we graciously assign them a term of six months from this date, for their dismission, and the appointment of Catholics in their stead.

" In case any one shall harbour or conceal such proscribed persons, he shall be degraded and punished in life and property;—no one shall be spared in this. And in order that it may be known who have duly obeyed this edict within the above term, and who have not, we request and graciously command all the ordinaries, as also the prelates and archpriests in our dominions, to take stringent means that their subordinate priests and vicars, after receipt of this edict, carefully describe all inmates and inhabitants of every house, in their respective parishes, with their wives and children above sixteen years of age, and take strict notice, who of them attend, or not, the appointed masses, confessions and communion within the appointed term. After that the minister and vicar shall, without delay, inform against, and name in writing, such disobedient parishioners, who will not yield in matters of faith, and

can produce no weighty excuse, to the provincial court under which they reside. And the justice is ordered, by virtue of this mandate, under the penalty of 1000 ducats in gold, upon the formal request of the minister or vicar, to sue and seize for us, till further orders, such non-catholic persons, with all their property and estates, found and situated in his jurisdiction, and without delay send in a formal report of the confiscated property to the government of Lower Austria. And we command all our subordinate authorities, governors, vice-regents, wardens, bailiffs and judges, as also the burgomasters, justices of peace, municipal officers, clergymen, and all others, strictly to obey these our edicts in all points and articles, and in nowise to act contrary to, or alter them, as they love our approbation, and fear punishment. All this contains our serious command, and our final will and intention, whereby every one may be directed to prevent injury and disadvantage."

After perusing this document, no one will doubt, that the Protestants had great reason to dread the accession of Ferdinand, who, by the way, had no direct claim to the throne of Bohemia; and that they must have seriously contemplated the necessity of preventing it, by every means in their power.

A reprint of this edict, made by a Protestant in 1620, has a remark in the margin, that there were already striking indications of the approach of the Spanish inquisition, of the new Sicilian vespers, and the Paris Bartholomew tide (blood weddings). If that observer lived a few years later, what must have been his experience!

The deeds of Ferdinand in 1609, the very time when Rudolph granted the charter, are so impor-

tant, that we cannot pass them over, though they only concerned Styria; for they present the motives by which the minds of the Bohemian states were stimulated to oppose him, and strikingly prove that their apprehensions were not founded upon groundless supposition, but upon actual certainty. We refer to a resolution which Ferdinand passed regarding the Styrians, Carinthians, and Carniolians in 1609, after they had petitioned him for the free exercise of the Augsburg Confession. It was printed at Prague in 1620, and circulated for the purpose of shewing what the Evangelicals might expect from him.

"Whereas his serene highness the archduke Ferdinand of Austria, our gracious lord and sovereign, does well bear in mind the answer his highness commanded to be given to his faithful lords and people, adhering to the Augsburg confession, in his hereditary principalities and lands of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, as early as the last of April, 1599, when shortly before they found themselves aggrieved on account of the abolition of the anti-catholic church and school practices at Gräz, and in other places, and prayed to have these affairs re-arranged according to the previous order;—an answer, we say, full and by all means in agreement with the divine judgment, in which was contained not only a satisfactory and legal refutation of their mistaken verbal and written objections, but also his serene highness's *final* declaration, that his highness will persevere to the grave in his opinion, and will by no means be persuaded to the contrary. Accordingly it has so continued for several years.

"It therefore not a little surprised his serene highness, that notwithstanding all this the lords and people acknowledging the Augsburg confession,

should present a petition a few months ago respecting these matters, by some particular persons from among them. But with still greater surprise, nay, with a just indignation and displeasure, did his highness learn from the said lately presented writing and the subjoined Carniolian credentials, that the said lords and people of the above-mentioned three countries, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, have assembled in a long continued diet under the title of the *states* acknowledging the Augsburg Confession; when at *that time* there was no diet, either here in Styria, or in Carniola. His serene highness does now herewith command the lords and people of the Augsburg confession, that they make no longer use of the above mentioned title and signature, but that they remain within their proper bounds, without arrogating to themselves that to which they have no right.

" As to what regards the chief matter, a required increase of *religious liberty*, the obedient lords and people are doubtless acquainted with the resolution of his serene highness, who has indeed been induced and obliged to take in hand and prosecute a *salutary religious reform*, because among his highness's subjects there has arisen *so many erroneous doctrines*, and false and injurious opinions; disobedience, and opposition to princely authority, increasing more and more; the clerical and secular rulers are publicly reviled in the pulpits and other places without reserve, and many other excesses and unseemly acts have been committed in opposition to God, the general peace and christian love. His serene highness, therefore, remembering his responsibility, to avoid greater evils, has resolved to repress these with all due and possible despatch, in

order to restore again the former welfare of the true ancient worship of God, the only saving religion, and orthodox faith. To this his serene highness, as a Catholic prince, has been induced not only by pressing necessity, but by his own zeal. Wherefore his faithful people, vassals and subjects, ought in the meantime rather to have imitated his example, than to complain of the abolished exercise of multifarious, misconceived and seductive opinions. Besides this, it would greatly rejoice his serene highness to spend this transitory life with the country and people committed to him of God in such peaceful unity, that they may likewise enjoy together that future and everlasting life for which all men are created.

" His serene highness is confident that his obedient states, including the lords and people addicted to the Augsburg confession, will bear his highness willing testimony, that during his reign of fourteen years, he has given them at all times due satisfaction in political and private affairs, and has especially been concerned to increase the welfare and prosperity of his principalities and states, and to gratify them in all reasonable matters; and his gracious will is that it shall not be diminished in time to come. Since then his serene highness has been anxious to give to his faithful states all possible satisfaction in worldly and temporal matters, and has spared neither trouble, heavy costs, nor even some danger of life for the protection and preservation of the beloved father-land; how much more anxious must he be to prove himself equally zealous in matters which regard conscience and the salvation of souls and eternal bliss. But as it is by no means becoming in his serene highness to grant or to dispose of anything in spiritual affairs con-

trary to the ecclesiastical laws, but rather to uphold the true catholic religion, and to hinder errors from creeping in; his highness is therefore so much the more authorised in that which he has undertaken and ordained, inasmuch as he, being the reigning prince of the country, having to give an account of his subjects, is bound to care both for their present and eternal welfare.

" Wherefore all those placed in authority in this country, being ordained of God, are *bound* to regulate themselves in all things agreeably to the legitimate will, according to the tenor of the divine word, rather than their own inconsistent imaginary opinion.

" The reference to the example of other potentates and princes does not at all affect his serene highness, nor can it change his purpose; since the government intrusted to his serene highness has for its object the leading of his subjects to safety and peace, both as pertaining to conscience, and to the preservation of temporal happiness. Wherefore his serene highness is unconcerned about the dealings of this or that prince with his subjects, because he has to care for himself and the inhabitants of his country,—to think of that which is proved to be his duty, and for which he will have to be responsible.

" If then the faithful and obedient lords and people of the Augsburg confession can clearly recognise from the above his serene highness's will and intention, they will doubtless, upon his very gracious and cordial exhortation, feel satisfied and reconciled. They will now, by all means, renounce the abovementioned petition, which must surely tend to their own injury, and that of all those belonging to them,

and in future spare, and not again trouble, his serene highness with the like pretensions, which he can on no account consistently condescend to take into his consideration. For his serene highness is so little to be moved from his conscientious belief, and brought over to another, in case they continue their complaints, that his highness graciously and plainly, once for all, declares his willingness rather to endanger all he possesses by the grace of God, than to deviate in the least from his so often repeated opinion.

" But in whatever else, that does not offend his princely conscience, his highness can possibly please and shew kindness to the lords and people addicted to the Augsburg confession, and to each separately, he will at all times be ready to do so, even to the sacrifice of his own wealth and blood, and cherish and protect them as a father his children, with parental and princely love and kindness; and with and among them, whether in joy or in trouble, readily offer and lay down everything, as much for them as for all the rest of the spiritual and secular lords and people of his dominions.

" Since this gracious and well-intentioned resolution of his serene highness in accordance with the divine and civil laws, and also with reason, cannot consistently be improved, the said lords and people of the Augsburg confession have really *nothing to complain of;* but ought rather, with most humble thanks, to recognise the greater lenity in this proposition, on account of his native Austrian mildness, than is contained in those laws, which require that the freeholders, vassals, and subjects, should be of that religion which the prince of the country himself confesses.

" Finally, the lords and people of the Augsburg confession will now voluntarily retire home in peace, and in future so continue, with their pious, benignant, and well-disposed lord and prince, (as has been done by them and their praiseworthy ancestors from times immemorial,) that they may secure to him all good and a prosperous reign, and to themselves and their adherents the above offered grace and benevolence.

" But in case they now or in future arrogate to themselves an unequal conduct, (for which his highness does not intend to give them the slightest cause,) they have to consider, that *it shall not remain unresented*, and his serene highness will then be obliged to use all the means in his power for the preservation of his sovereign prerogatives, but first of all, for the due protection of the divine glory and the true religion. Though he is by no means aware, nor does he believe, that they would bring such an indelible stain upon themselves and their posterity; but rather expects that they will still continue in their noble-minded integrity, and assist manfully their lord and prince in all cases, and that the enemies of peace will not be able to hinder them in this."

Can it now be surprising that the Evangelical states distinctly saw, in Ferdinand, the greatest of dangers approaching them, and tenaciously clung to the idea, that his obtrusion could not be valid in an elective empire; and that since there had already been a previous adoption forced upon them, they might disengage themselves from it on account of his unaccomplished promise?

In proportion as the Catholics rejoiced, that *now* the tolerant times of Maximilian and the indulgences

of Rudolph were at an end, and a *positive triumph* would be catered for them by Ferdinand, when they should be allowed to deal with the Protestants according to their will,—so, on the other hand, the Utraquists and Protestants trembled, in contemplation of a sovereign with principles such as Ferdinand had expressed, and sufficiently brought into practice in his previous governments. But when the Protestant states saw that such men as Adam Sternberg, John Talenberg, Count Joachim Andreas Schlik, Zdenko, William Poppel Lobkowitz, and others, were inclined to yield to the old emperor, they dared no longer oppose. Ferdinand was, therefore, acknowledged and received. He was nevertheless obliged to engage to ratify *in all points* the privileges of the states, who were extremely attached to their constitution, their charter, liberties, grants, rights, &c.; and so long as Matthias was alive he was to be satisfied with the mere *title* of a crowned king of Bohemia. In case that he should arrogate to himself the government before that time, the states were neither to be bound to submission or service. After he had drawn up the required letters of security, he was actually crowned, in the cathedral of Prague by the archbishop Lohelius. As to what had before occurred we have a remarkable intimation in a book published in 1608 at Malzheim in Alsace, from the academy of the Jesuits, then newly established. In the preface it is said, for the encouragement of Leopold, the founder of that academy, "if he would but be as zealous as his brother Ferdinand, who, though at his coronation he swore to tolerate the heretics in Bohemia, had nevertheless previously bound himself in the sacristy, never to yield to them in

anything which might run counter to the interest of the catholic church." He adopted the principles which the Jesuits at that time promulgated in numerous writings of the day. They said, "No catholic authority can conscientiously leave the heretics unmolested, but it would be rather praiseworthy to expel them from the country and punish them in life and property, since there is greater evil in lenity than in severity. The clergy who should conciliate and sing the *placebo* to them, would only merit the devil's thanks. All free choice in regard to religion is against God, and the root of all evil, &c."

After Ferdinand's coronation he travelled, attended by his chancellor Lobkowitz, into the allied provinces of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, where he was also proclaimed. He then returned to Prague, shewed himself very friendly, and afterwards went to Hungary. That he was really acknowledged—which they were afterwards disposed to deny—may besides be proved by the deputations of congratulation from the university, &c. Upon the whole, although we are willing to suppose that Ferdinand II. may possibly have possessed some good qualities, and we are far from placing solely to his own account the bodily and spiritual torments which became the portion of the Evangelicals under him; and it is moreover probable that he believed himself right in thus treating them; yet it would be doing gross violence to the principles of truth not to denounce his conduct as altogether reprehensible, and deserving only to be held up to the execration of all who possess a spark of desire for the happiness of their species.

Since the enemies of the non-catholics knew Ferdinand's disposition and purposes, from his conduct towards his hereditary lands, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, immediate attempts were made, by the liege lords especially, to treat their evangelical subjects with coercion, to speak boastingly, and with threatening, of their prospects, thereby strengthening mistrust in the successor to the throne.

The Evangelicals feared that the charter would be treated just as the concessions had been in Styria, which the Protestants had so dearly paid for to his father the archduke Charles, these concessions being merely regarded as individual grants which could not be binding upon a successor. The charter had, indeed, already been attacked, even in the times of Rudolph II. when it was said to have been extorted from the King, and that the Pope, Martinitz and Slawata had never accepted or confirmed it. Cardinal Clesel moreover endeavoured to instil into them the principle that the secular authority had no right to interfere with the spiritual; that the Church ought to be left to her prerogative and practice.

The following extract from the Book of Persecutions, gives some remarkable particulars relating to the history of this period:—

"From that time the enemies, having become bolder, began partly to rise without reserve, partly to meditate calamity for the Evangelicals, nay, even to threaten them publicly. When Ferdinand, soon after his "reception," departed to be proclaimed in Moravia, the Jesuits erected in Olmütz a triumphal arch, and among other decorations they had painted the Austrian coat of arms; on the one side the Bohemian lion, on the other the Moravian

eagle, and both chained to it. Underneath was a sleeping hare, with open eyes, and the superscription, "This is natural to me." Thereby they ridiculed the states to their face, who had so allowed themselves to be bound and chained, as though they had been asleep with their eyes open. It soon became evident that Ferdinand, like a true son of the church, had merely sworn to the states with his *mouth*, but to the pope with his *heart*.

"From thenceforth nothing was left untried whereby they might injure the Evangelicals. At one time the papists sought by craft to shiver their rights, at another to provoke them to impatience, in order that they might themselves give occasion for a more direct attack.* As soon as Ferdinand had departed, not only the clergy, with the archbishop, John Lohelius, at their head, but the Catholic laity, such as Slawata, Smeczansky (Martinitz), and others, set themselves against them. In Moravia the bishop of Olmütz, and the governor Ladislaw Lobkowitz, lord of the estates of Holeschau, harassed their subjects an account of their faith, contrary to the express assurance of the charter. The same was attempted in various ways at Prague, and in the royal free towns. The Jesuits from the pulpits insulted, without the least reserve, in scandalous language, not only the Evangelicals, but even the indulgent Emperor Rudolph, and the religious liberty

* Comp. Hist. of *Salzburg*. There in 1730 they sought to overcome the Protestants by forcing them to rebellion in self-defence, so that they might have no claim upon other Protestant powers for protection, and thus be given up to their arbitrary will. Besides the confiscation of their estates, the archbishop had the satisfaction of clearing the church of this pretended mischievous people.

which he had permitted in the empire. At times menaces and threatenings were likewise thrown out, that it would not remain so much longer.* The printers were prohibited by a special interdict, from printing anything that was not first reviewed and licensed by the royal chancery; but the Jesuits on their part were allowed to publish whatever they pleased against the Evangelicals. From the chancery also the prefects of the different divisions of Prague and the imperial magistrates (who were Catholics), received new instructions, according to which they were to demand from the congregations the original documents under which their churches were founded; and not to allow any meeting of Protestants without their presence; among the churchwardens they were to endeavour to introduce persons of the *sub una* (which they effected in some churches), also to deny to the defenders and the consistory writs of execution.

"They also negotiated secretly with the vicars, whom they endeavoured to bring back to spurious Hussitism, that they should present a petition to the king for a utraquistic consistory, on the principles of the *former*, which had been under the *authority of the archbishop*. Twelve of them had already been caught in the net, and signed an agreement to this effect. But their leader (who had been flattered with the dignity of administrator), fell sick, and being ready to die, confessed his treacherous guilt, and dissuading the others who were implicated in the affair, the intrigue miscarried.

"After this malicious attempt had failed, another was prepared. The Bethlehem church, belonging

* Comp. Rieger's Hist. of the Bohemian Brethren, iii. 490.

to the consistory since its foundation, had, from 1609, been given up to the "Brethren." But on the death of their senior Matthias Cyrus in 1617, taking up the Catholic controversy the *sub una* would have seized the church. The attempt, however, proved abortive, for the professors of the university vindicated their privileges, and chose a new senior, John Cyrillus, whom they installed with great solemnity. In other places the like attempts were made, but without success.

"Count Thurn, who as burgrave of Karlstein, had the care of the crown and the privileges of the kingdom, was deposed from his office in a most unjustifiable manner, because in the last diet (1617), he had spoken in favour of a more free and unbiassed election of the king. His office was conferred upon Smeczansky (Martinitz), the most violent enemy of the Evangelicals. It was, perhaps, intended, that as the latter had been unable to prevent the religious liberty which the Evangelicals now enjoyed, he might in his new office, by subtilty deprive them of its benefits. He soon began to vex the subjects of the domain by hindering their baptisms and burials. The same was done in other places. In Krumau, an estate of the crown, persecutions also began to be raised against the evangelical subjects; and in the archiepiscopal city Klostergrab, and Braunau, a town belonging to the abbey, they pulled down the Evangelical churches which had been built under protection of the charter."

The seizure, in fact, of the churches in these two cities, is invariably considered as the principal cause of the thirty years' war, and therefore demands full elucidation. The legality or illegality of the proceed-

ing depended upon the extent of the grant as expressed in the charter; whether the Protestant states and cities might build churches upon their own ground only, or whether they might not now erect places of worship for themselves wherever they should deem them necessary. The Catholics maintained, that in archiepiscopal places and other clerical districts, as well as on the estates of the crown, the Evangelicals were not to expect to be allowed to erect churches, though they might have them upon their own domains. But the Protestants required more. They wished to have churches in every place where it appeared to them necessary and desirable, even in districts belonging to the clergy. On this account being accused of abusing the charter, in justification of their conduct they published, in 1618, a list of twelve reasons, shewing the consistency of their views both with the charter and the 'agreement' between the *sub una* and the *sub utraque*.

Bearing in mind the malignant determination of the *sub una* to root out the Evangelicals, if we would here judge impartially, we must admit that the latter did not require more than what the charter, candidly construed, gave them; but the former, taking advantage of a rather ambiguous passage in that document, used it in justification of their premeditated violent proceedings, the express object of which was to goad the Evangelicals to some overt act which might be construed into rebellion, in order that a general undisguised attack should be made upon their property and lives; and this diabolical object was at length brought about by the destruction of the churches of Klostergrab and Braunau, which so generally roused the Protes-

tants, and respecting which the following passage from the work of Pessina exhibits the declared opinion of the Catholics; but it must be kept in mind, that the words are properly those of Cardinal Caraffa.

" They had for a long time, and even subsequently to the royal grants, contended among themselves in reciprocal hatred and sectarianism in Bohemia. The sectaries were barely permitted to practise their religion in the domains of their own lords, but by no means on the lordships of the Catholics, and on the royal estates.

" Some were dissatisfied, and insisted on permission to build churches and preach in places under Catholic authority, and even on the estates of the clergy. The inhabitants of Klostergrab, which belonged to the archbishop, built a church for themselves, and assembled in it, contrary to the archbishop's wish. When the emperor Matthias had pronounced sentence against them, the archbishop took workmen, had the church broken down, and their religious exercises prohibited. The sectaries also built a church at Braunau, in the district of the abbot, without his permission, even though he daily renewed his orders to stop the building, shut up the church, and deliver the keys to the king's counsel at Prague. They were often commanded, and never obeyed, but opposed themselves to the will of the king and the orders of his council. At last a few citizens of Braunau were taken to Prague and imprisoned; for they had not only done wrong, but treated the royal authority with contempt. To liberate them the chiefs and defenders spared neither petitions, threatenings, nor bribery. But their principal object was to set free Theobald Hochky,

of their sect, who was in possession of too many of their secrets, for he had been secretary to the principal grandees. They were afraid of having their epistolary correspondence with the German princes discovered. As the defenders held frequent meetings for the purpose of devising means to rescue the prisoners, the Emperor, suspecting a tendency to conspiracy, strictly prohibited them, and the authorities were ordered to punish as rebels those who thus met together. This deterred some from attending these assemblies; but others appointed a solemn meeting by public announcement from the pulpits, and the preachers exhorted the people to prayer, the better to regulate their sect. Thus they gave a colouring of religion to their cause, and incited the people to defend their false doctrine, so that they met together in far greater numbers, contrary to the king's orders, and spoke of defence, not with prudence, which had entirely left those ringleaders, but with passionate fury."

To render this account more complete, we add another Catholic extract from the history of Braunau :—

" But the matter stands thus with the archbishop of Braunau. Induced and led on by some peace-hating people (whose intention was rather to cause disturbance in the country than to establish and further devotion), they began again to build a church at Braunau against the express will of the abbot,* their ground landlord, who could not prevent

* As early as the year 1602 this abbot would have forced the Evangelicals to auricular confession and communion with the *sub una*, by fines, corporal punishment, and exclusion from christian privileges.

it. He therefore petitioned his majesty for assistance; alleging first that he could not allow such an innovation to be introduced without violating his oath and duty to his order and the monastery; and secondly, that his subjects had no right by the charter, and in which there is *nothing of this kind*, to warrant such arbitrary new church building; therefore he prayed with earnest entreaty for his just decision in the matter. His imperial majesty did nothing more in the examination of the case than forbid the continuation of the building until he should ascertain whether the inhabitants of Braunau were authorized or not by the charter for such church building.

"Hereupon the Braunauers inquired of the defenders whether they were bound to attend to such interference of his imperial majesty? And they commanded the reverse, urging them to continue the building, contrary to the imperial rescript, and solemnly promised to defend them against any opposition. Is this not to be called a bidding defiance by his own subjects to his imperial majesty, the highest authority, and treating him with insult and derision? Was it not enough to excite his imperial majesty to impatience, and call forth his vengeance?

"But his imperial majesty shewed in this his innate kindness and forbearance, bearing with them for a long time until the Braunauers had completed their church, and commenced their free worship in it. In the meantime, the Emperor, urged by petitions from both parties, after a patient investigation of the case and the various reports connected therewith, at length resolved that the said church at Braunau should be closed, and the keys given up.

But the Braunauers boldly resisted; and in the mean time the defenders called a meeting of the states. From the summonses which they issued, the Emperor could plainly perceive the diminishing of his authority, that the states would again be incited to disturbance and resistance, and some among them intended to give vent to their own passions. Induced by this the Emperor instantly prohibited the convention, until he should return to the country, or pass further resolutions respecting it, and for the surer attainment of his object, and to prevent mischief, he subjoined these *harsh* expressions;— that since it had become quite evident that the matter proceeded from a small number of individuals, the authorities should be commissioned to inquire into the affair, and proceed against them according to their deserts. From these words the defenders and the apologists inferred* that they were already condemned, and that without examination; and therefore there was an inevitable cause for convening the states. Had this been the case, nothing but execution must have followed condemnation.

"But who can conclude from these words of his imperial majesty, that because he would proceed according to justice, he intended to omit examination, and immediately proceed to execution? Do not the like words rather indicate a promise of examination, &c. &c."

The abbot of Braunau was Wolfgang Selender Prosswitz, and the archbishop the above-mentioned Lohelius, who under pretended imperial orders often rejected complaints without a hearing. Many therefore clearly perceived the approaching sad

* The authors of the two apologies.

condition of Bohemia; and many also placed great reliance upon aid from Saxony.

In the account of the churches at Klostergrab and Braunau, Protestant writers add that the former had been built at the expense of many of the poor, though several princes and persons of rank had also sent them large contributions; that the timber of the church after it was demolished was given to the Catholic priests for fire-wood; the altar, the confessional, and the steeple ball were taken to the Catholic church; those who would not join catholicism were ordered to remove, and those who had their children baptized among the Evangelicals were punished with imprisonment. Besides the abbot of Braunau and the said Lohelius, there was also the abbot in the Strahof of Prague, who was very severe upon the Evangelicals. "The daily increase of the non-catholics," says Pelzel, "was observed with trembling, and the monks feared lest they should be finally deprived of their sustenance. They opposed the spread of the Protestants wherever they possibly could, especially those addicted to the doctrine of Luther, who had multiplied greatly since the grant of the charter." But it was not only their increase which so offended the Catholics, but also, and that not without cause, their conduct. We have already mentioned, on the occasion of the jubilee of the Reformation, that this gave cause for complaint at various times. Rieger remarks, that "the opposed party ought not to have been provoked under pretence of the gospel, by the Evangelicals, whose newly acquired privileges the Catholics looked upon with a jealous eye. No one should brag of rights and make preparation for

defence in defiance of others, but rather he should use his legal, and not unnecessary liberty, decently, moderately, and without insolence. This the Protestants in Bohemia lost sight of. Preachers, especially the Saxon clergy, did wrong by their satires and revilings, as well as by bitter publications and reproaches against the Jesuits, whereas they ought only to have warned and preached patience. And as to what was done by the Protestant grandees (the notorious treatment of Martinitz and Slawata, the proposed deposition of Ferdinand, and the election of a new king), surely could not tend to their blessing." We must not, however, forget the conduct which drove them to such a course; and their failings were certainly exaggerated to the Emperor, and represented in a manner so invidious, as only to excite his indignation, and he thought it just to censure their abuse of the charter. Pelzel indeed declares that " the states in Bohemia were, until the battle upon the White-hill, like the parliaments in England. They created laws, made alliances with their neighbours, appointed rates and taxes, conferred nobility upon distinguished men, kept their own troops, chose* their own king, or were at least asked and solicited to give their consent when the father would confer the crown upon the son." In modern language we might briefly call these proceedings of the Bohemians *constitutional;* a term which the Spanish advisers of Ferdinand certainly could not comprehend.

The " Deductionsschrift," published at Prague in 1620, says, " The *exasperation* against the Bohemian

* Especially remarkable is the oath taken by the electors in the election of 1526.

nation and the co-religionists is great, and has taken deep root; such is the anger, rancour, and hatred, that no humiliation, no prayer, no request, is regarded; no reasonable or well intended admonition or warning is either received or respected; but all are looked upon as heretics, rebels, and Lutheran dogs; we are doomed to extirpation from the face of the earth, and this noble kingdom will be abandoned to blood-thirsty dragoons and birds of prey."

These complaints and reproaches became louder after the year 1617, when, on the 31st of October, the Protestants in their jubilee exasperated the Catholics; and the Catholics, in their celebration of the 10th of November, exasperated the Protestants. The press was already engaged more busily than might be supposed. Most of the controversial and opposition pamphlets of that time are now very rare, and only to be met with occasionally in some of the libraries. Those especially have been preserved that were subjoined to larger works, such as Theobald's Hussitish War. These writings however contain authentic information concerning religious affairs.*

The utraquistic states were indignant at the proceedings in Braunau and Klostergrab, and at the imprisonment of the complainants, and sought to appoint conferences for consultation with the defenders. The Emperor declared that such meetings should be treated as capital crimes, since he was

* "Sincere reflections on the disturbance in Bohemia;" "Discourse on the melancholy state of the states *sub utraque*;" "Faber on the system of defence." Some have singular titles, *e. g.* "The Hussitish bell;" "Spanish Money-defence;" "Spanish Crab's walk;" "Spanish Leaven;" "The Trap;" "Bohemian Ear-picker," and the like.

himself the defender, and would acknowledge none other.

These consultations were, notwithstanding, announced to be held in the Caroline building at Prague. According to Jacobäi they proceeded in the following manner. On the previous Sunday the declaration of the states was proclaimed in all the Protestant churches: That all they desired to undertake had none other end than the honour of God, the welfare of the church, the benefit of his majesty, and the true prosperity of the country. This was proclaimed by the preachers from the German and Bohemian pulpits by order of the defenders, who, according to the charter, had authority over the consistory and the utraquistic clergy.

The minister of St. Nicholas in the Kleinseite, and John Rosacius in St. Caroline, also delivered similar speeches. This interference of these clergymen was afterwards the cause of their deposition and banishment. The utraquistic states now assembled together concerning their religious liberty. The royal cities and delegates from the cities of Prague, were invited to it. The latter did not appear, but the former attended in a great body.

They examined the clause in the charter, which appeared to justify the complaints of the utraquists relative to the proceedings at Klostergrab and Braunau. The imperial orders in those affairs were declared invalid. Petitions and complaints were likewise sent to the Emperor Matthias in Vienna, and to the governors of the kingdom of Bohemia. They also requested the states of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, to intercede for them with Matthias, who knew, from the complaints and also

from the accounts of the governors, what had passed, and consequently became very indignant at the states of Bohemia. Some remarks from his successor are said to have increased his indignation. He made the states acquainted, through the governors, with his displeasure at the assemblies held in the Caroline building without his approbation. He also gave them to understand, that what had passed at Braunau and Klostergrab was by his authority; that they had certainly abused the charter and their privileges, and the ringleaders must be considered and punished as rebels. He, nevertheless, professed himself willing to hear them personally in Prague, and to do them justice.

In the meantime the Utraquists and Protestants at Prague, in the churches, hinted at the danger to which their privileges were exposed, and the possibility of being deprived of the charter; and the clergy exhorted the people to pray to heaven for protection, and to be upon their guard.

We have before us a copy of the "Exhortation and proclamation which was read in German and Bohemian from the Evangelical pulpits at Prague, on the 20th of May, by order of the three states *sub utraque*," which was afterwards so much censured and blamed.

"Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ: It is hereby announced for your Christian and peculiar consideration, that since the faithful, almighty, and merciful God has granted, in his divine mercy, that after great and intolerable difficulty put in the way of our Christian religion *sub utraque*, the three states of lords, knights, and citizens, as also all the subjects of this kingdom attached to the Bohemian

confession have obtained in the times of the emperor Rudolph (of happy memory) the favour of the free exercise of our religion, which has likewise been confirmed by a charter and an 'agreement' of the states *sub utraque*, and a 'conjunction' with the Silesians, all which has again been sanctioned by his present imperial majesty our most gracious king and lord: we have hitherto enjoyed this liberty for several years in tolerably good peace and quiet, and no one has publicly dared to deprive us of that mercy of God and our Christian liberty. But it has *now* been reported to the states *sub utraque* that *some*, in opposition to divine honour and truth, resolve to destroy the salutary peace, love, and unity among us in this kingdom; to cause heavy and intolerable oppressions to our religion *sub utraque* by clandestine devices and practices; to shut up and pull down—to the disgrace and reproach of Christianity—the churches built with great costs to the glory and praise of God; to force men to apostatize from the divine truth; and, upon the whole, to use every effort for the abolition of the charter and religious liberty. For which cause their graces, by virtue of the authority committed to them, have met together during certain days in the great college of the Emperor Charles IV, whence they have reported it to his imperial majesty, and are peaceably and humbly waiting his gracious interposition. But the enemies of the truth of God and interrupters of our peace have grievously and unjustly slandered and accused them of having appointed meetings and united together in opposition to his imperial majesty our most gracious lord.

"Against this their graces now protest before

God and the world; that they suffer herein violence and wrong; that they never intended, nor has it ever come into their mind, to oppose in the least, or to undertake anything in opposition to his imperial majesty; but that they seek the praise and glory of God alone, and desire with ourselves to remain peaceably in the kingdom of Bohemia, according to the charter, and to maintain peace, love, and unity with all those who adhere to the contrary religion.

"With this we therefore desire to acquaint our fellow-Christians, that in case any one should report such a state of things of them, especially among the simple, and represent it as though they had conspired against his imperial majesty, undertaking anything unreasonable now, or intending to do so in future, you shall give such an one neither credit, nor entertain such thoughts of their graces; but believe assuredly that all this is intended for the praise and glory of God, for the averting of all oppression in our Christian religion *sub utraque*, and for the advantage of us all; and therefore protect and defend their graces, and see that no one turn from them. And since their graces, the three states, with the defenders, will again assemble in the said Caroline college, to the glory of God, to deliberate upon the said grievances and other matters, and further to petition his imperial majesty for his protection, they request you, as Christian brethren, that you address yourselves to God with filial confidence, and call upon his divine majesty in a fervent spirit and with a truly penitent heart, and pray, that for the glory of His holy name and the salvation and blessing of all our souls, He may incline the heart and love of his imperial majesty

our most gracious king and sovereign towards them and us his subjects, and grant his majesty long life and a happy reign over us. And moreover, that ye diligently pray to God for their graces, the states, who for the glory of God spare no trouble and expense, but have the care over us *sub utraque*, that in His might He may strengthen and establish them, bless their care, pains, and diligence, to the praise of his holy name, assist them in bringing everything to a happy issue, and recompense them with rich favours both in this life and in the world to come; that He may put to shame the enemies of His own divine majesty, and also of his imperial majesty, and convert them, and graciously grant us peace and unity in future, that we may on all sides live in love and fellowship, and serve our divine majesty. To obtain this let us sing together in all assurance, 'Graciously grant us peace, O Lord God, in our times, &c.'"

This address was certainly well calculated to make a serious impression on the hearts of the Evangelicals, who must have been driven to desperation by their bloody-minded enemies, or no one could have supposed that three days after, the rash deed which we are about to describe, would have been committed in the castle.*

In order to execute the commission committed to the ten governors, Adam Sternberg, William Slawata, Jaroslaw Martinitz, and Diepold Lobkowitz, assembled in the castle, the rest, three of whom were utraquists, were either sick or absent upon their estates. Of these governors, Slawata

* The defenestration, *i. e.* the ejection through the window.

and Martinitz,—distinguished men though they were, in other respects—were universally hated at this time among the highly irritated utraquists. They had not signed the amnesty with the other members of their court in 1609; they had disapproved of the charter; in 1611 their advice was to exterminate the Evangelicals; and now they were commissioned by the sovereign to hinder the utraquistic states from assembling in the Caroline chamber, to summon the ringleaders, and to threaten them with punishment unless they should remain quiet until the return of the Emperor, who was to hear and do them justice.

The governors required the states to repair to the palace, in order that they might hear the Emperor's mandate read to them. Many appeared, heard the severe commands of Matthias, received copies of them at their own request, and promised to return the next morning with their reply.

They did so. They appeared again on the eventful 23rd of May, when the above-mentioned four governors were met together expecting them. The principal of the states were the following:—Henry Matthias, Count of Thurn; Kolon Fels, (both Austrians); William Lobkowitz, senior; Joachim Andreas Count Schlik; Wenzel Raupowa, (often merely called Ruppa); Albert Smirczizky; Paul Rziczan; Ulrich Kinsky of Wchinitz; Bohuchwal Berka; Albin Count Schlik; and Paul Kaplirz. They were not without arms; for they had pistols in their girdles, and the people had muskets and sabres. They occupied all the avenues to the castle, and when they entered the palace the leaders passed into the green chamber, where they consulted on their answer to the governors.

Here Thurn,* that passionate and hasty man, opened his intention to the rest of the discontented nobles. "Through his rough zeal for the Protestant religion,† and his enthusiastic attachment to his new country, he obtained the entire confidence of the utraquists, which opened to him the way to the most important offices. He had acquired great fame in his exploits against the Turks. Through an insinuating conduct he gained the affections of the multitude; an ardent, impetuous head, fond of confusion, because therein his talents shone forth; audacious enough to undertake things, which with cool prudence and peaceful blood no one could have ventured; sufficiently unconscionable, who when it tended to the gratification of his passion could play with the fate of thousands, and had cunning enough to direct with a leading-string a nation such as Bohemia was at that time. Already in the disturbances under the reign of Rudolph he had taken a most active part, and the charter which the states had extorted from that king was chiefly

* This Thurn, baron of Valsassina, was not a Bohemian by birth, but a proprietor of Bohemian estates, and by no means a young man; for he had already been captain in 1595, and lived long after 1618. In an apology which he wrote fourteen years after, on account of a military failure upon the Steinau bridge, near Leignitz, he says with respect to those events,—"It would be superfluous and tedious, to describe the danger, damage, shame, and inconvenience, that fell to my portion in that commotion and disturbance; what due fidelity and courage I shewed in behalf of my compatriots in Bohemia; what an earldom and domain I relinquished and gladly left behind for the sake of liberty of conscience and my good name; and what I must put up with to this hour in my old age, which through the consoling grace of God I bear, though with difficulty."

† Thus Schiller describes him.

his work. From the time when he had ceased to be guardian of the crown at Karlstein he was impelled by a thirst of vengeance, which he soon found an opportunity to satisfy."

Thurn eloquently represented to the rest of the states, that as long as Slawata and Martinitz, whom no one equalled in severity towards the Protestants, were in existence, religious liberty in Bohemia could never be established. William count of Slawata was chief chamberlain of Bohemia. In his youth he had been a Picard,* but afterwards, as it is said, on account of a rich marriage, he became a Catholic; yea, even as often was, and still is the case, with converts to the Catholic church, *too zealous* a Catholic. He was in many respects a distinguished man. There are in the libraries of the Bohemian nobility memoirs of that time, occupying more than ten volumes, which he wrote as an apology for himself against the chiefs of the Protestant party. From 1618 he lived abroad; was rewarded in 1620; contributed much to the pardon of the king of Bohemia in 1621; and died at Neuhaus in 1652 at an advanced age. He meant well for his country, according to his own view.

The second of the above-mentioned men, who so immortalized themselves in the beginning of the 30 years' war, was Jaroslaw Martinitz, posthumous son of Jaroslaw III. von Martinitz, chamberlain and privy counsellor. He had already distinguished himself in his youth, as lord of Okar and Smeczna, (whence he was usually called Smeczansky), received relics from the Pope at Rome; became district governor, chamberlain, assessor, burgrave of Karl-

* *i. e.* One of the United Brethren.

stein in 1617, after the dismissal of Thurn, and one of the ten governors in 1618. In 1620 he returned from his flight, and, like Slawata, obtained the title of count, counsellor of state, chief justice, chief chamberlain, and grand steward of the court. In 1638 he was appointed chief burgrave, and used all his efforts for the extension of the Catholic faith. He died at Smeczna in 1649, and his remains were deposited in the cathedral of Prague. He and Slawata were accused of great severity towards the Protestants. They are declared to have driven their evangelical subjects with dogs and scourges to the mass, had their mouths wrenched open and the wafer thrust down their throats; they even denied them marriages, baptisms, and funerals. Martinitz had also threatened banishment in 1618 to those of Karlstein, if they did not attend the communion *sub una.*

Thurn gave his opinion that it was absolutely necessary these men should be entirely removed out of the way; they must fall a sacrifice. There were some who made objections to such an undertaking, but others approved of it. Thurn, Rziczan, Fels, and others, furiously entered the governor's hall. Paul von Rziczan (whom we shall find afterwards with Raupowa and others in the suite of the *winter*-king in the Netherlands), was spokesman in the name of the utraquistic states. He accused Slawata and Martinitz of being the disturbers of the peace, who thought to deprive the utraquists of their charter.

Each governor was now requested separately to acknowledge whether he had a hand in the imperial mandate. The chief burgrave addressed them

seriously, calmly and mildly, and begged of them not to act rashly or with violence. Fels replied, that they had nothing to say against Sternberg and Lobkowitz; but that it was Slawata and Martinitz (who now put them to defiance), who on every occasion oppressed the utraquists. Here Wenzel Raupowa called out: "the best way is, *straight out of the window*, after the old Bohemian fashion!"*

Some now stepped nearer to the chief burgrave, and the grand prior Diepold Lobkowitz, who was less hated but more feared, took them by the arm to lead them out of the room. But Martinitz and Slawata asserted their innocence, and prayed that they would judge them according to the laws, if they were guilty of anything; but the states were so embittered that they would not be softened down. William Lobkowitz finally caught Martinitz by both hands. Smirczizky, Rziczan, Kinsky and Kaplirz, in their fury, also laid hands upon him, dragged him to the next window, and actually threw him down sixty feet into the moat. They all stood terrified and speechless. Thurn interrupted the silence and cried: "Noble lords, here is the other." Then Slawata was seized, and likewise thrown from the window. After them was thrown the secretary Philip Fabricius Platter, who had also been implicated in the schemes for destroying the Protestants.

Those who had been thrown down, though they

* In 1439 twelve senators of the old town of Prague, and among them the magistrate, were ejected from the windows by the exasperated multitude, and caught upon lances. Persecut. 34; Comenius, ii. 10.

had fallen so many feet,* fell upon a heap of dirt, where stone monuments with inscriptions were afterwards set up. None of them had broken a limb. Platter was the first who could rise; he went back to his house in the old town, and afterwards proceeded hastily to Vienna, and acquainted the Emperor with what had happened. The servants of Martinitz and Slawata ran to their help; and, notwithstanding they were fired at, brought them over a ladder into the adjoining house of the chancellor, Zdenka Lobkowitz, whose lady used every means to restore them. Count Thurn came and demanded them. But the prudent and bold Polyrena softened down his fury by kind words, assuring him that both were in bed in a pitiable state, and thus sent him back. Martinitz afterwards disguised himself, cutting off his beard and blackening his face with gun-powder, and escaped from Prague without being recognised, until he reached the White-hill, whence he went to Munich, and remained with the Duke of Bavaria. Slawata could not follow, on account of a wound in his head. The states finally granted him a physician, and had him closely guarded. Out of gratitude for their wonderful escape, the three united in a present to Maria of Loretto, consisting of a diadem of gold with precious stones. There is extant an account of a scene between the ladies of Slawata and Thurn. The former is said to have interceded with the latter for her husband, when the reply was that if she complied she herself would soon require intercession.

Slawata's declaration which he made to the states,

* The accounts are various. The window is still known.

after he had been thrown down, is very remarkable. It runs thus:—

"I, William Slawata, of Chlum and Koschenberg, at Gretzen, Tetech, Strasch, and Neuenbistritz, hereby openly and plainly, before all who shall read this letter, declare: That when the three states *sub utraque* of the kingdom of Bohemia were assembled last Wednesday in the Bohemian chancery, at the castle of Prague, they put a question to me, as also to others, as to whether I had given my advice to the severe and injurious mandate issued from his Roman imperial majesty to the governors, and whether I did approve of it, and do still approve of it? To this question I was to give a distinct, clear answer; but which I did not, and have thereby given cause for the treatment I have so justly received. Whereas, by the mercy of the Almighty, my life has still been preserved, and has inclined the hearts of their graces, the states, to lay nothing farther upon me (which they might have done); and moreover, since in consequence of my fall, my life is still in danger, so that I do not know whether the Lord will again restore me to health, or will call me hence, and therefore desiring to clear my conscience, I have prayed their graces the states, that they should send me some men from among them, to whom I might confess with my mouth and by this letter:—That, when before his imperial majesty's departure from this kingdom, a prohibition was to be issued for the shutting up of the church at Braunau, I neither gave the advice, nor did I assist in it, nor did I know, that it was the intention of his imperial majesty so to do; but when informed of it, I apprised his imperial majesty at Pardewitz,

at the time of his departure from this kingdom, of the importance of the matter, that such an interdiction might prove very disastrous in his imperial majesty's absence; in like manner I disapproved his majesty's mandate to the governors, and alleged that the states would thereby become the more exasperated. If, at the time when the question was put to me, I had stated this clearly, doubtless the states would not have treated me in the manner they did. I now acknowledge my crime, and am thankful to the states that my life is preserved. Therefore I vow and promise to their graces, for myself, my heirs and descendants, that I neither ought nor will take vengeance of any of the three states, nor of any single person among them, whether secretly or publicly, whether in word or in deed, or in any way that human subtlety might invent; nor will I engage in any counsel against their graces the states; nor act in or accept of any office in the country until the end of my days, but spend the remainder of my life in the fear of God and in peace, take the part of the states *sub utraque*, protect the charter, the agreement and union, and all that tends to secure the preservation of liberty and the exercise of the religion *sub utraque*, and the defence instituted by his majesty; to pay all contributions and taxes from my estates, and those of my consort; to leave unmolested in the free exercise of the religion *sub utraque* the poor vassals whom God has committed to me and my consort, according to their own conscience, and to deal in all this uprightly and faithfully, without deceit, subtlety, or dissimulation. But in case I undertake the least thing against this my declaration, the states are at liberty at all times to pro-

ceed against me according to the judgment of the law of the country. And as a proof that that which is stated regarding our vassals is according to the will of my consort, the latter has put her seal to this letter by the side of mine, with the signature. Dated at the castle of Prague, Monday after Ascension, A.D. 1618."

Immediately after the outrage at the castle, the multitude commenced an attack upon the Catholics, which would probably have terminated in bloodshed, had not Thurn quickly mounted his horse, and hastened to the place of danger, praying and entreating that they would do no violence to any Catholic, but keep quiet until matters should be adjusted. Those men, however, who had been imprisoned on account of the affair of Braunau, were at once restored to liberty.

Before we conclude this painful retrospect, which, together with the proceedings at Klostergrab and Braunau, is reputed to have been the signal for the thirty years' war, we shall relate a few other events which occurred at this period, proving that just as the Catholics provoked the Protestants, so the latter, as might be expected, retaliated on the former. Our voucher is Balbin,* a learned and distinguished Jesuit, though his account is certainly not corroborated by any Protestant writer, and savours strongly of the Roman forge.

John Ernest Schosser, burgomaster of Aussig, was born in Frankfort-upon-the-Oder. His father was a Catholic, and his mother was of the Reformed. He was brought up at Prague as a very poor boy, who had to get his bread by singing, and his nights'

* Miscell. Hist. Bohem. iv. 201, seq.

lodging in beer barrels, as they happened to lie before brew-houses. As Slawata went one day to mass early in the morning, he observed the boy in this kind of lodging, and had him taken out while asleep, by his servants. He interrogated him, and the answers of the lively boy gave him much pleasure. Slawata, who was always kind to the poor, took him to his house, had him first instructed at Prague, then sent him to study abroad, and finally made a good lawyer of him. When he had distinguished himself, the archduke Leopold, archbishop of Prague, invited him to his court, made him court-counsellor, and gave him a considerable salary. After many years he longed to return to Bohemia, where he married, and by Slawata's recommendation, became burgomaster in the city of Aussig. He was highly esteemed by the Emperors Rudolph and Matthias, and by King Ferdinand. His judicial opinions and his Latin poems obtained for him great celebrity. Rudolph and Matthias passing through Aussig, in their way to Dresden, had an opportunity of hearing his eloquence, and would have conferred great dignities upon him, had not those disturbances intervened. As Schosser was a zealous Catholic he used his influence to preserve the city in the Romish faith. He withstood the coming in of anti-catholic preachers, and was very probably guilty of many severe proceedings against the Protestants. There were twenty-four citizens of that religion who formally bound themselves by a horrible oath to destroy him. He perceived their hatred, and petitioned for commissioners from Prague, who should examine the complaints of the citizens; and it was proved that all he had done was in obedience

to higher authorities. Roused by the proceedings at Prague just related, his enemies appointed the 17th of November, 1618, for the destruction of Schosser. They closed the gates and opened the prisons, the bells rang an alarm, and they violently rushed towards his house. When he saw them coming, he took the golden chain which he had received from the Emperor as a badge of honour, and put it round the neck of his little daughter, (who in her old age related the circumstances to Balbin) and hid himself under the roof, with a Dominican who happened to be with him. As he could not be found for some time, guards were placed round the house, and Schosser prepared himself for death. He was finally discovered. They threw him down and dragged him about in the market-place, with insulting expressions against the Catholics. They cried,—"This is he who sought to force the city to the papal superstition, who would not tolerate liberty of conscience, who has banished evangelical clergymen from the city." Whilst he lay there, a victim of their hatred, he was first stabbed by a butcher, to whom he had shewn great kindness in his youth. He received no less than 270 wounds (according to the statement of the undertakers) before he expired. The murderers triumphed in their deed, because the burgomaster had violated the charter, oppressed the Protestants, and forced popery upon a free city. He was only forty-four years old.

Two years afterwards the hands of Protestants were again imbrued in blood, by the torture and death of John Sarkander, the Catholic dean of Holeschau. He was from Silesia, studied theology

and philosophy, and became an honest and zealous minister. When the Moravian states had declared themselves against Ferdinand, and he had sent Cossacks into their country, the Moravians thought that Ladislaw Popel Lobkowitz was the cause of it; whereupon they wanted to extort his confession from Sarkander, who was his confessor, and they chose the rack for the purpose.* He was dragged to Olmütz, and there treated as a criminal. They hung him up by his hands, his arms being bound behind, and attached weights to his feet. This was on the 13th of February. Four days after they tormented him again for the space of two hours. On the 18th the tormentors came to him intoxicated, and Hartman Bucheim had him burned with torches; but as he would make no confession the executioner threw them away. Then Stiebor Ziernowsky and Benedict Pruscha commanded that his breast, belly, sides, and lips should be burned with pitch, resin, brimstone, and pens dipped in oil; until the intestines could scarcely be kept together. This lasted three hours, and they declared that it was only by the devil's help he could endure it. He lingered four weeks in a dungeon in excruciating pain. On the 17th of March he died, and the Lutheran alderman would only allow him to be buried at the foot of the gallows. But Captain Lumpenberg obtained permission to inter him in the chapel of St. Laurence, near the parish church. This is indeed an example from Moravia, but it was

* Balbin is said to have obtained his account of the barbarity of the Calvinists of that place, from a report sent by the magistrate of Olmütz, John Funk, to the Cardinal Francis Dietrichstein.

doubtless made known in Bohemia, where it helped to kindle the fire.

The crafty imperial party, as appears from the letters of the Jesuits, rejoiced over such acts of violence, because thereby the most cruel proceedings against their victims might be justified. Now, said their opponents, is the time and opportunity to bring the states under the yoke; now may absolute authority be enforced in Bohemia. There was no lack of people who advised peace, and wished to delude the Protestants with fair hopes. But as an old poet says:—

"'Tis good and reas'nable to further peace;
Nor should the righteous let their efforts cease
It to maintain: yet carefully should they
Seek first God's kingdom, and his word obey;
Their liberty of conscience not neglect,
Nor their soul's welfare suffer to be wreck'd;
Else will each supplication surely fail,
And powerful intercessors prove of no avail.

"Warn'd by their oft-practised illusions, I
Will give no place to such as truth belie;
Nor those most precious treasures jeopardise,
Duped by intrigues, buffooneries, or lies;
For daily history this teaches still,
(Let him believe contrariwise who will),
The proud, the weak, the lukewarm, and the vain,
Are those alone who trust the charlatans of Spain."

CHAPTER VIII.

APOLOGIES—CONSEQUENCES OF THE VIOLENT CONDUCT OF THE PROTESTANTS—EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS.

THE Utraquistic states thought proper to write to the Emperor, and acquaint him with what they had done. They did not seek to excuse, but to defend their conduct. Those writings are known by the name of the first and second Apologies of the States; and are to be found in many historical works.*

The first was signed on the 25th of May, 1618. The second has the following title:—

"The second apology of the states of the kingdom of Bohemia, who partake of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under both forms, translated from the Bohemian into the German language, and for the sake of all lovers of truth among the German nation put into print A.D. 1619, 120 pages, 4to."

In this is clearly shewn, with what severity the Protestants were treated by the triumphing and powerful Catholics, and that the design of the inflexible Ferdinand was none other than their utter destruction, although it had been expressly stipulated in the charter, that neither the future kings of Bohemia

* Lunig's Archives of the Empire, Bohemian documents, Part. spec. contin. 1 Continuation, p. 133; further correspondence by letter with the Emperor, see in Londorp, Apology, Act. publ. 1, with a letter to the Emperor, in Theatr. Europ. 17, seq.

nor any other, whether of the clergy or laity, should cause them injury, and that no edicts should be permitted which were contrary to those securities of peace, or that might be the cause of any impediment or change. The Catholics, however, assert that many things are exaggerated in these apologies; that even if their clergy had really oppressed the Protestants, the latter are much to be censured for their invectives and calumnies; and especially that the aim of the Protestant leaders was not religion, but *rebellion*, for which the former was a mere pretext. But this accusation, however plausible, does not appear to be in any respect substantiated by facts. On the contrary, the letters which are addressed to the Emperor, afford abundant evidence that the states had no design at this period, of renouncing their allegiance; and it is stated that "although they did not refer to the half of their intolerable grievances, yet all was done that his majesty might not be more aggravated; because every one was in hopes that his majesty would be pleased to find some means of compromise." The writer already quoted makes the following remark:—"It is a deluding the common people to lead them to imagine, as the Catholics everywhere assert, that the war in Bohemia arose from the circumstance of the *sub utraque* throwing the imperial governors out of the window, remaining armed, and proceeding to the utmost extremity, notwithstanding all kinds of remonstrance. This is very far from the truth. The defenestration was certainly the first overt act on the part of the Protestants, but the true cause originated with Spain."

We have before us a copy of the apology of the

states, from which the following passages have been extracted:—

"After the hardships and oppressions, both in political and spiritual matters, endured by the three states and the inhabitants of Bohemia *sub utraque*, which in past years have been brought upon them by the contrivance of the clergy and the laity in this kingdom, but especially by that most pernicious sect of the Jesuits, whose thought and aim has always been, by craft and deceit, to subject to the papal chair, not only his majesty our king, but also the whole of this kingdom, with its inhabitants and states *sub utraque;* a complete peace was at length established in 1609 and 1610, and fully ratified, by virtue of the charter of his imperial majesty the emperor Rudolph, (of happy memory), as well as by the agreement made between the two parties *sub una* and *sub utraque*. And this moreover was fully and effectually confirmed, in *genere* and in *specie*, by his present imperial majesty our most gracious king and sovereign, at the commencement of his reign, according to the custom of this country. Notwithstanding all this, the enemies of the king, of this country, and of the common peace, have never ceased to exert themselves, in every possible way, to destroy our rights and privileges, and accomplish their wicked intentions, so pernicious to this kingdom and our posterity. On not a few persons of rank they have actually effected their malicious will and design; and heretofore have shewn themselves not only the secret but the public enemies of this their fatherland, and they even now seek to deprive our present king and sovereign of his future succession, and transfer it to another; but in this

they have not succeeded; but on the contrary, the Lord God has granted, that every object has been attained and confirmed by his imperial majesty our present most gracious king and sovereign.

" Wherefore, at the instigation of the Jesuits so often alluded to, and other of their instruments, they now betake themselves to invectives, calumnies, and even to the anathematizing of the *sub utraque;* and both in their discourses, and in the public papers, they intimate that *we are heretics;* and declare that to such, according to their doctrine, no one is bound to keep his engagement whether by promise or by writing. They also give us opprobrious names, to the reproach and defamation of our religion *sub utraque;* throughout their libellous publications they, besides the honour, condemn the lives of the *sub utraque*, and all who are not addicted to the Roman faith. Thereby they have incited the authorities to our destruction by sword and fire.

" And in order that they might deceive the people, and introduce contention among the states *sub utraque*, those enemies of the country and the general peace have again sought to separate us the states *sub utraque*, from the defenders appointed with his majesty's gracious consent and ratification by us, for the security of our charter and the religion authorised therein, by which means they aimed at the entire abolition of our consistory *sub utraque.* They sought to give occasion for division among us the united states, in order to bring more contempt upon our public assemblies than that in which they are already held, through their wicked instrumentality. The better to succeed in their purpose they put different constructions upon the agreement

made between us the states *sub utraque*, which had been ratified by a general confirmation of all our privileges in this kingdom of our present most gracious king and sovereign. They attempted to persuade the defenders,—at one time by great promises, at another by threatenings,—to demand their dismissal. Some persons who are weak in faith they caused to waver; others allured by promise of high offices, for the sake of securing their friendship and for temporal advantages, have against their conscience abandoned the faith and truth they once acknowledged and professed, and joined them.

"Having obtained high offices these disgracefully dismissed old and useful servants, both in the service of the state and in his imperial majesty's domains, and introduced other officers and assistants of the *sub una* in their place, by whom they vexed the people on account of their religion, and banished some under pretext of secular forfeiture. They discharged the priests *sub utraque* even in such parishes where they had been appointed after the granting of the charter and the agreement, and filled their places with others from the *sub una*. In the city of Prague they so managed it, that the highest offices were occupied by those of the *sub una*, who then so exerted their cunning and threatening against the senators *sub utraque*, as to compel them to do what they required of them, &c. For these and other important reasons we, and our churches, who neither have forsaken nor will forsake the defence established to protect our religion, made our due apology before the high lords of the states assembled in the castle of Prague.

"But although we reported during the said diet

(1615) to his imperial majesty, as our king and sovereign, these and other grievances and oppressions, which took place not only in Braunau and Klostergrab, but those also which had been caused to the people in the domains of his imperial majesty, contrary to the express import of the charter, and have prayed for an investigation and settlement of the matter, in the hope of receiving redress before the diet should be ended; yet those enemies of the kingdom and the general peace are again turned to their habitual cunning. And because they felt sure that they could do with his imperial majesty as they would, they have hindered in every way our receiving an answer before the closing of the diet. A few individuals among them, by making use of every kind of foul means in the general diet, both in law and other affairs, have so contrived it, that we the states, his majesty's faithful subjects, have agreed to enormous and almost impracticable taxes and contributions for a space of five years, over and above the already heavy burdens upon us and our poor vassals, for the payment of his imperial majesty's debts. This we took upon ourselves and our vassals, in the hope held forth to us, of future relief from the grievances alluded to.

" But by the interference of the said enemies of the country we neither received an answer from his imperial majesty after the conclusion of the diet, nor was there any redress to be obtained in these matters, but rather the longer the delay the more the grievances increased, until at length his majesty, when about to depart from this country, and already upon his way, in the castle of Brandeiss apprised one of the defenders (doubtless by their instigation),

Lord Henry Matthias Count Thurn, in the presence of two other persons, that he did not judge the complaints and petition of the states *sub utraque* to be legitimate, that he had moreover given up the benefices in his domains to the archbishop of Prague, and therefore he would hear nothing more about the affair.

" But Count Thurn most humbly excused himself to his imperial majesty, shewing that as the matter concerned the whole of the three states *sub utraque*, and he could not take upon him that verbal resolution, he prayed that his majesty would commission the chancellor then present to draw it up in writing and send it them, when he himself would then not fail to have it brought forward and duly considered.

" To this his majesty consented, and commanded the chancellor accordingly. Notwithstanding this, the resolution never could be obtained. In the mean time, to treat with indignity our evangelical religion *sub utraque*, the archbishop commanded the church of Klostergrab, which had been built at great expenses, to be demolished and levelled to the ground. In like manner the people of Braunau were ordered to surrender their church to the abbot, to leave it unoccupied, and deliver up the keys to the chancery of Bohemia. But as they declined this, and prayed to be allowed to remain in their church, some of the principal men have been imprisoned in the castle of Prague, where they now remain, to the distress of their wives and children, and friends.

" As in course of time these grievances increased in various places, and the defenders were repeatedly

accused in every district of neglecting their duties, they, according to the direction of the diet, and for important reasons, summoned to Prague the high state officers, sheriffs, and the counsellor of his imperial majesty, as also six persons of the *sub utraque* of each district. In that assembly we deliberated together upon this subject. But because our desire is to use all mildness and moderation, we neither did, nor undertook any thing more, than present an humble supplication to the governors, and despatched another to his imperial majesty to Vienna, praying in all subjection, that his majesty would deign to allay those oppressions, and graciously order the Braunauers to be released from prison. Our supplication was accompanied by a due intercession with his majesty from the states of the margravate of Moravia, and the princes and states of Upper and Lower Lusatia, as the countries incorporated with this kingdom. We also agreed with the defenders upon another assembly to be held in the college of the Emperor Charles, on Monday after Rogate, that we might learn and deliberate upon such answer to our supplication as might then arrive from his imperial majesty. When we appeared on the day appointed, we learned, that during the whole time, not only no answer had come from his imperial majesty, and of course our grievances had not been alleviated, but that, through the interference and instigation of our said enemies, a severe mandate had been issued by his imperial majesty to the governors, threatening both the defenders and ourselves. It was ordered to be read to the defenders; and was to the following effect:—

" 1. That his imperial majesty perceives that these our assemblies were called and appointed in opposition to his majesty and his royal person.

" 2. What regards the church at Klostergrab and the punishment of the disobedient at Braunau, since the subjects belonged to the convent, both were the result of his imperial majesty's just command.

" 3. That the states *sub utraque* overstep the bounds of the charter and the agreement made between them and the *sub una*.

" 4. That the states *sub utraque* take part with foreigners against his majesty, defending their open rebellion, and strengthening them in it. The few persons who are the authors of which shall by no means be overlooked by his imperial majesty. Moreover, because that they abuse his majesty's kindness, and go beyond their authority, his majesty will not fail to make further investigation, and proceed against each of them according to their deserts. In the mean time his majesty hereby prohibits the defenders calling any of the like meetings, and all further measures which may be adopted, until his return to the kingdom. The governors are also to exhort all other subjects not to appear at such meetings when summoned."

" We the states never could have imagined that our enemies should succeed so far by their instigations as to induce his imperial majesty, instead of granting us our most humble petition, to condemn us without any hearing, and to lead us to expect immediate execution. For if it were so as is affirmed in the mandate (the result of malicious and ungrounded information), that we have called an assembly against the person of his imperial majesty,

that we had unduly interfered with strangers, that we had defended them in their rebellion against his majesty, and strengthened them in it, then we should have been guilty of capital crimes against this kingdom. Although we have not done these things, but have been altogether innocently slandered to his imperial majesty by our enemies, yet they, having the royal mandate in hand, which they have divulged in many places among the people to our disparagement and reproach, have sufficiently shewn how ready and anxious they would be to inflict the judgment as soon as it shall be formally issued. And because it is certain that this originated in their consultations, and that that grievous mandate was first drawn up at Prague, and then sent to his majesty for signature, it may easily be supposed how we should be treated were they to pass sentence in this affair. The result should certainly have been, that, to their own shame, they would gladly have passed such a sentence, as should, under the garb of right and judgment, have deprived us, honest people and faithful subjects of his imperial majesty, of our life and honour, to the sorrow and heartbreaking of our wives, our children, and our dear friends. Thus would they abolish our charter, and our religious liberty; nay, all that has heretofore been approved in the same charter and acknowledged as a perpetual law of this kingdom, both by the agreement of the *sub una* and the general diet, they would entirely destroy, and so hedge us in, that in case of danger, whether for themselves or us, we should be prevented from consulting or referring to the defenders; a state in itself most precarious.

" Although it is our earnest desire to avert this and other mischiefs and dangers brought upon us in a deceitful manner by our enemies, and to escape their snares, they have, by their crafty resistance and hindrance, brought it to pass, that notwithstanding our most humble petition to his imperial majesty for an answer, he is so taken with them, and a few men of the like spirit, that he believes them every thing and that we are nothing; indeed, it is most difficult to make mention of our name and that of the defenders in his presence. Added to this, it is a fact well known to every one, that whenever they were willing to get honest people into trouble, and had passed their sentence upon them, they used all kinds of measures, however illegal and unjust, in order to deprive them of their property, and bring evil upon them. In this they are yet more diligent when the evangelicals are concerned, to withhold from them right and justice, to call faithful and obedient subjects of his imperial majesty unfaithful and the unfaithful true; to raise to honour and esteem wanton and wicked men, and to bring dutiful men down to contempt and reproach. Their subjects, the subjects of the country, and also those upon the estates of his majesty and the clergy, such of them as belonged to the *sub utraque*, they have greatly distressed, on account of their difference of religion, and with unheard of cruelty, they have forced them to their own, contrary to the plain letter of the charter. Through the medium of the judges of the royal free town courts, they have succeeded in separating some of those towns from the states. Moreover, when asked by us as to whether the above-mentioned mandate and the

sentence passed upon us, was not the consequence of their advice, they neither did nor could disprove it.

" For the above-mentioned reasons we have thus proceeded against two of them, namely, William Slawata of Chulm and Kossumberg, and Jaroslaw Borzita of Martinitz, otherwise called Smeczansky, as the destroyers of justice and the general peace, because they had not fulfilled the offices in which they had been placed, but had wickedly abused them, both to the disparagement of the authority of his imperial majesty our king and sovereign, and to the destruction of the general peace of this kingdom of Bohemia, after they had published the aforesaid mandate; and we threw them both out of the window, according to ancient usage, and after them a secretary, their flatterer, who, among others, had caused great distraction to the cities of Prague. But since their lives have been spared, it remains for us to know how to deal with them; either to forgive them and all those whom they protect in their estates, or to prosecute in whatever way we may determine, them and others who are equally destroyers of the charter and the agreement, being their accomplices, but especially Paul Michna, that wicked, treacherous man, the disrupter of the general peace, who, though certainly of low descent, having become secretary in the Bohemian chancery, has in a short time made such great progress, as to have assigned to him, together with our enemies mentioned above, the whole government and management in this kingdom over the states; who has arrogated to himself an equality with the state officers and privileged persons, so as to pay

them no regard, boldly intermeddling with affairs contrary to their will; who through his base subtlety has caused great mischief and injury in this kingdom by introducing divisions, and his chief aim has been to deprive the states *sub utraque* of all their privileges, but he has now absconded and fled the country.

"To this we, now assembled in the castle of Prague, have instituted *a system of defence* for the benefit of his majesty and this kingdom, our dear fatherland, and for the protection of our wives and children. But in doing this, we intend in no way to act against his imperial majesty our most gracious king and sovereign, nor to injure our peaceful dear friends of the *sub una* (so long as they themselves desire to have peace); and it is well known to all, that by this no injury has been done to any one, whether secular or clerical; nor has any tumult been created, but good order maintained, both in the cities of Prague and elsewhere in the kingdom, excepting only the circumstances above alluded to, which arose from inevitable causes, in which it had become neither just nor possible for us to do otherwise.

"We therefore hope that his imperial majesty our gracious king and sovereign will not take it in any other sense, nor give credit to any report misrepresenting our intention. We likewise expect that our dear friends of the *sub una* will not attempt to injure us on account of the said just punishment visited upon the destroyers of our charter, much less that any one will shew us hostility, publicly or secretly, either in his own name or in that of any other; but we remain in the sure hope, that every one, in consideration of the above-mentioned reasons, and the

sufficient crime of the persons above-stated, will hold us justified, that our intention has not been to undertake anything prejudicial to his imperial majesty our most gracious king and sovereign, or the Roman religion *sub una*, or the agreement made with them; but will rather aid us in protecting and defending all that may secure the preservation of the common peace, the privileges of the country, and whatever may be conducive to love and unity. Wherefore we most humbly pray his imperial majesty to allow another and fuller apology to be drawn up, as far as shall be requisite to justify us before all the world."

The so-called "Deductions-schrift," published in 1620, is also of an apologetic character. The tone in which it is drawn up may be ascertained by the following passages:

"That the Bohemian states had sufficient and evident cause for deposing Ferdinand, is fully proved in the larger apology published by them. It is clearly demonstrated by the adduced documents, how severely and violently, for several years, they had been afflicted, disquieted, and persecuted, in soul, religion, and conscience, by the Jesuitical faction; and thereby, because there were no other means nor prospect of redress, they were finally driven to that extremity.

"But the Spanish and Jesuitical faction, with their favourites, not satisfied with this apology, cast a doubt upon everything, and allege against the states of the Bohemian crown, that the present change of government is the result of private interest and envy, and the hope in a few individuals of attaining to greater dignity and offices. The fact is,

that things would never have come to the present state of perplexity, had a stop been put to the incessant persecution for conscience sake—had the charter and religious truce honestly been maintained —had the demonstrable right of election been left undisturbed in its original freeness;—or, on the other hand, had no intolerable Spanish compacts of succession, and pretended Austrian hereditary right been brought in by force.

" Wherefore the states were compelled to use *extremis malis extrema remedia*, and to undertake a new election upon the abdication of the emperor Ferdinand, for the protection of themselves and the incorporated states, for the defence of their religion, and the privileges of the country."

In the " second apology of the states" of 1619, there are found authentic accounts of the severe oppressions of the *sub utraque*, at pp. 20—35, which ought necessarily to be given here.

" They (the Romanist party) have spoken disdainfully of his late gracious majesty the emperor Rudolph, on account of the charter granted to the states *sub utraque;* thereby transgressing the commandment of God, 'thou shalt not curse the prince of thy people,' and likewise the exhortation of illustrious heathens, that the dead are to be held in honourable memory. The said charter they called a *rascally letter.*

" They deprived the *sub utraque* of their king, yea, even of their God, (as those who were unworthy of the favour of either,) contrary to the said charter, in which they are declared participators in the king's duties and the constitution of the country; they abused and calumniated them to the utmost as

accursed heretics and rebels against the authorities; their priests as unordained deceivers and murderers of human souls, unworthy to step over the threshold of the church. They judged them condemned to hell and everlasting punishment; held their worship and preaching as seditious; deprived their parishes of their books and burned them; spoke blasphemously of the sacrament of the altar dispensed by the said priests to the people *sub utraque*, as though it were unworthy to be picked off the ground. Some privileges which they had, before the grant of the charter, they wrested from them; prevented them from building churches, and shut up such as were built, taking the keys and sealing them. When they prayed and sang at home they threatened that their heads should be laid between their feet; under pretext of political causes, they threw many into prison on account of their religion, and proposed to them to apostatise if they wished to be liberated. Such as submitted to them they released, and assigned them honourable offices. The vassals were forced by an oath at confession to apostatise from their religion of their own accord. Some they brought over to their creed by money; others, who were faithful to their God, they imprisoned, drove from their estates, and sold their property. They would not permit some to be married unless they first took the communion with the *sub una*; nor would they let others remove from the estates, nor have justice administered to them, unless they first became papists.

" In several places they severely threatened those who attended the preaching of an evangelical minister, or availed themselves of such minister's

communion, baptism, or marriage, and forbad paying them the due tithes. Those who attended evangelical churches, contrary to their interdict, they heavily fined. They even dared to tear away from the authority of the defenders and the common states, some of the benefices and curacies in the city of Prague.

" The imperial judges *sub utraque* in the city of Prague, men of good conduct and well experienced in the law of the country, were without cause removed and placed in inferior offices, and unqualified persons from the *sub una* installed in their stead. These received new instructions from the Bohemian chancery, in which all the *sub utraque*, were ordered to lay before the judges the deeds of their churches and chapels, and all parish meetings were prohibited, without their consent and presence. Some parishes also, in which all were *sub utraque*, were provided with papal officers and clergymen; and the sheriff of the old town of Prague was directed not to assist with his officers in any execution consequent upon a verdict of the defenders and the consistory; though this was always the duty of every sheriff of a city.

" They proceeded further, and prohibited the people from trading in the evangelical states. They collected the salaries due to the priests *sub utraque*, appointed of old time from the church-rates, and withheld the taxes of the finance; ordering that if any one came to demand them, such should be thrown down the stairs; though the states *sub utraque* insisted upon their subjects paying the full tithes to the vicars *sub una*, notwithstanding they had to maintain their own priests besides.

" In the schools, those individuals who had been

from old times supported for the instruction of both religions (each youth according to his own creed), were now no longer permitted. They refused to enter in the public register the ecclesiastical affairs and institutions connected with the *sub utraque*; but frequently inserted things not at all consistent with the registry, such as papal indulgences, &c.

"Those not married by their priests, they declared in adultery, children baptized by others as bastards. Many children they took by force from their parents *sub utraque*, especially orphans, put them in the schools of the Jesuits, and compelled them, often by hard punishment, to embrace the popish religion. In the cities *sub una* they would not admit people of the *sub utraque* as citizens, nor would they grant them any judicial deeds, infant baptisms and marriages, much less to bury their dead in churches and burying grounds, even ordering dead bodies to be taken out of theirgraves, as heretics unworthy to rest among Catholics. Such a proceeding was never heard of, even among Turks and heathens.

"This is the character of the oppressions endured by the *sub utraque*; but they cannot all be described here, with the many intrigues they made use of, for this would increase the apology to a large volume instead of a short pamphlet."

A twofold example of violence practised by the archbishop of Prague, John Lohelius, and the abbot of Braunau, against the *sub utraque*, is more circumstantially described, and it is moreover shewn how ineffectual were all complaints to the imperial court; so that the defenders became greatly perplexed, being stimulated partly by their own conscience, and partly by the remonstrances of the evangelicals, to

a more efficient discharge of their duty, than merely exhorting those to patience who were suffering unheard-of persecution. Nay, the oppressed *sub utraque* are even said to have publicly declared that, as they could no longer depend upon the promises of the defenders, they would be compelled as a helpless people to have recourse to extremes in their desperation, for which the defenders would be answerable before God and the whole world. Accordingly the defenders were compelled to appoint a congress in the college of Charles IV. in the old town of Prague, for the necessary deliberations, where nothing more was done than the drawing up of two petitions, the one to the governors, and the other to the Emperor, praying for a final abolition of the severe and lengthened oppressions on account of religious differences. But as this was ineffectual, and the evil rather increased, the defenders are said to have applied to the states of Moravia, Silesia and Lusatia, that they might take an interest in the distress of Bohemia; whereupon a conference was appointed at Prague, in the said college, on Monday after Rogatio, 1618, in order to await there the imperial answer. But instead of an answer, a severe mandate was sent from Vienna, which was published to the assembled states *sub utraque*, so that all courage and further hope of deliverance from oppression entirely vanished."*

* This finds its analogy in France, of which the statements of 1683 are:—"It was quite in vain at that time for the reformed to appeal to the privileges formerly enjoyed; tears were of no avail. Nor were the intercessions of the great attended to; for the court no longer had ears for that miserably oppressed people. Nay, their churches that remained were entirely levelled to the ground without delay."

This led to the lamentable event which has already been described; and which they afterwards attempted to justify; producing against the Emperor many other grievances of which he is said to have been guilty.

The Romanists, as a matter of course, denied the truth of these allegations, and published a counter-statement, entitled, "Evangelical declaration against the Bohemian apology; with several supplements."

The following is the substance of the reply of the Emperor Matthias to the apology which had been addressed to him by the states *sub utraque*:—

"We by no means approve of the way in which our beloved and faithful governors and secretary have been treated in the castle and royal residence of Prague, and in the Bohemian chancery, where the greatest security and respect ought to prevail. For, although it is pointed out as a cause, that they had commenced intrigues intended for the entire ruin of the kingdom of Bohemia, yet it is improper suddenly so to treat our governors and servants without any judicial hearing or representation to us; especially, at a time when nothing is known of an enemy, to levy horse and foot without our previous knowledge and consent, as the rightful king and sovereign; besides other things which have been done since the date of your writing. Nevertheless, since you represent yourselves as those who are willing to remain in faithful subjection, to the laying down of life and property, we send you hereby enclosed one of our patents, which we have ordered to be published in our kingdom of Bohemia, from which you may learn our further gracious will. By virtue of

this patent we command, that you conduct yourselves with obedience, dismiss the levied troops, omit future levying and summonses, and other undertakings against order and right, and that you peaceably await our determination. In default of this we cannot be answerable for you, since we have heard to what amount horse and foot are admitted into our kingdom; so that we too have ordered horse and foot to be levied for the defence and preservation of our authority in Bohemia and of our faithful subjects, and the saving of our imperial and royal reputation. But we are in hopes that you will rather give cause for peace and our gracious affection, than for punishment, which we would gladly spare."

The patent to which the Emperor here refers is to the following purport:—

"Matthias, &c. Beloved, faithful,—You are aware of that which happened, on Wednesday the 23rd day of May of this year 1618, to some of our governors, the secretary, and beloved subjects, in our castle and residence of Prague, in the Bohemian chancery, where there ought to reign the greatest security and respect; and what passed in other places on the few following days. And since all this has been done under pretext that the charter, respecting the free exercise of the religion *sub utraque*, was to be abolished, it is our desire to inform you, by this public letter, that it can never be proved that we have undertaken anything tending to the abolition of the charter and the 'agreement' made between the *sub una* and the *sub utraque*, (according to its contents); much less have we consented that any one else, or any of our states, should

undertake to do so. But we have no other intention than to maintain the states, both *sub una* and *sub utraque*, in their privileges, freedoms, charters, dietary decisions, and agreements; and whosoever thinks of us differently, wrongs us before God and the world. It is therefore his imperial and royal majesty's expectation, that no one will suspect us in this matter, nor give credit to any misrepresentation. And although nothing would be more gratifying to us than to return in person to our chair and residence, and to our faithful and obedient subjects of the three states and inhabitants, in order to take in hand and examine those circumstances, and also, under the blessing of God, to clear up any misunderstanding which may be pending; yet since bodily weakness and important business prevent us at present from coming to our kingdom of Bohemia certain persons of consideration and authority shall be appointed without delay for the clearing up and settling of such misunderstanding. In the meantime, as there exists no enemy to injure us, as king of Bohemia, and the three states or the inhabitants of the kingdom, which should make it requisite for troops to be levied and held in readiness for the country's safety, especially since we are prepared to protect everyone against detriment; We accordingly graciously command and desire, that you dismiss the levied troops, for the prevention of further injury and expense, and the ruin of the common people; that you levy no more, and that you withdraw the summonses. Let, likewise, all the inhabitants, both *sub una* and *sub utraque*, undertake nothing against nor offend each other, either in word or deed, but live together in harmony, peace, and love.

Not doubting that they, the faithful states, will obediently follow these instructions, it is our desire, as soon as the levied troops in the kingdom of Bohemia shall be dismissed and the summonses withdrawn, also to dismiss our levies, to which we were induced by your example. But if, contrary to our expectation, our gracious and paternal exhortation, and our reasonable and rightful command and direction, the said troops in the kingdom of Bohemia shall be retained, and the levyings and summonses continued, and thus our gracious offer become of no avail: we can conclude nothing else than that order and right are despised. In which case we shall be constrained against our will, under the protection of the Almighty, through whose grace we have been rightfully constituted king and sovereign, to use means by which our authority may be rightly maintained. And since every one is able to judge what great disturbance, oppressions, and woes are occasioned to the poor people by war and insurrection, we desire to testify before God and the world, that we have given no occasion to them, and are without fault in the matter. But all those who shall conduct themselves in obedience to our command, and not join the disobedient (if indeed, contrary to our expectation and command, there should remain some who will not be warned) for such we will preserve our royal grace, protection and kindness. Given in our city of Vienna, on the 28th day of June, 1618."

Instead of obedience to this mandate, the states sent to the Emperor their second apology. The following is an extract from his majesty's answer:—

"We understand, contrary to our entire expectation, that, besides that there is no regard paid to

our gracious paternal warnings, declarations, exhortations, and orders, there are some points advanced in your defence of an irritating character. The chief of these is, that threatenings and protestations are thrown out, that in case troops should be sent into the kingdom of Bohemia, contrary to the regulations of the country and the decisions of the diet, it is to be feared that the rabble of the cities and districts of Prague will attack all the convents, however much you would wish to preserve them; and that not you, but he who sent such foreign troops into the country, will be accountable for the bloodshed occasioned thereby. Although we do not suspect our faithful subjects of such unchristian attempt; for neither have they any cause for it, nor is it our intention to injure our faithful subjects, but to punish the disaffected for disturbing the country; and this we shall do, not with foreign, but with native troops, and those levied in the holy Roman empire; yet, if you refuse to receive our exhortations, (as we have from the beginning exhorted to peace, and have avoided levying troops,) and thus through your perverseness it must so come to pass, then the most high and righteous God will not leave us without means to defend all who are innocent, both of the clergy and the laity. Regarding the outrages committed contrary to reason, nature, the decisions of the diet, the law of the country, the agreement between the *sub una* and the *sub utraque*, and your charter; as to what you mention with respect to *the destroyers of the peace*, that you do not intend to enter with them into a suit of law or a judicial examination, but pray us to punish them; all this is quite reasonable, nor are we ourselves disinclined to do so, according to justice. But as no

one can lawfully be considered guilty, or condemned as such, without a hearing, justice requires that it should be done so in this case. For by neglect of this, you will yourselves destroy your liberty and right, and entail a bad example upon your children and posterity; to which we, as a just king, who has sworn to preserve the laws of the country and your liberty, cannot be silent, and much less can we approve of it. As to what you threaten in conclusion, that you shall be compelled to seek help elsewhere, it is only what you have already employed all possible means to effect. But we are sure that no Christian authority will approve your illegal proceedings, but rather apprehend that something of the same kind, or much worse, may be attempted by their own subjects. Given at our city of Vienna, on Monday after Procopius, as the 9th of July, A.D. 1618."

Immediately after that unhappy 23rd of May, 1618, the states were unable to do anything further, notwithstanding the active zeal of Count Thurn. Nevertheless the office of the directors created by the charter of 1609, now became advanced to its *true importance*. For, besides having the care of the university and church affairs of the utraquists, they were for a time to undertake the whole government, if they could escape Ferdinand; and the *institution of defence*, which hitherto had been mere care and precaution, now became an institution of arms.

On the third day after the defenestration, the non-catholic states, the Utraquists, the Brethren, the Lutherans, and the Reformed, assembled together, and formed a friendly union, appointing thirty of

the most distinguished among them to conduct the state affairs of Bohemia. The governor of the castle Dionys Czernin of Chudenitz, and the three counsellors of Prague, were compelled to swear allegiance to them. With an unprecedented boldness they banished the Catholic bishop, the abbots of Strahow and Braunau, and other prelates, and published a severe decree against the Jesuits, who in consequence were obliged to evacuate the colleges which they had at Prague, Krumau, Neuhaus and Glätz, and within fourteen days they had to leave the country. Whoever granted shelter to Jesuits, or interceded for them, was to be held as an enemy of the country. "But thereby," says Pelzel, "they made men to be their enemies who had in their hands the hearts of the Romanist monarchs."

These intriguing disciples of Loyola doubtless could not bear the constitutional principles of the states of Bohemia, nor the spirit of reformation which pervaded the minds of their great scholars, which, according to our present views did the nation great honour. On this account the utraquists who triumphed so loudly at the choice of Ferdinand II. thereby made themselves many enemies.

The Protestants certainly had great cause for alarm, when they saw Ferdinand II. allow himself to be governed by the members of that detested order. What could be the result when the following doctrines had found entrance into his heart?* "The Lutherans and Calvinists ought to be killed with the sword; they ought to be banished and oppressed; they ought to be burnt with fire, sulphur and pitch;

* The words that follow were uttered by Edward Campianus, brought to justice in 1581.

drowned in water; impoverished, exhausted, hunted down, deprived of their estates, annihilated: in a word they ought to be rooted out and persecuted to death by every imaginable kind of excessive torture and pain."—"You must know, that all of us Jesuits, dispersed as we are in every part of the world, have entered into a holy league (which is daily increasing in number, as the Jesuits now count more than 80,000); wherefore, so long as one of us remains, we shall spare neither pains, trouble, nor artifice, to overthrow your religion, your country, and your people; and no power, no, not even that of an angel from heaven, shall prevent us."

The following is the mandate or proclamation of the united Bohemian states *sub utraque*, regarding the expulsion of the Jesuits from the whole kingdom of Bohemia:*—

"It is universally known, what great dangers have been hanging over this kingdom of Bohemia, and what repeated changes and difficulties it has undergone since the hypocritical sect of the Jesuits was introduced. This we, the states, as also our subjects and other inhabitants, have keenly felt, and have been compelled to employ against it our lives and property. Now we have in fact learned that none was ever such a beginner of mischief and calamity as this order of Jesuits; who to establish the Roman chair, bring all the kingdoms and countries of the world under its power and yoke.

* The state of public exasperation against the Jesuits, whose treacherous and dastardly Spanish spirit, so opposite to the Bohemian and German mind, had drawn upon themselves through their atrocious artifices their merited expulsion, is a sufficient apology for the strong expressions contained in this edict.

Without the least fear of God they everywhere and at all times busily employ such means as might best set the potentates of this world against each other, and against the states of every country, especially in such places where a difference exists in religious matters ; to cause disturbance and revolt, to stir up the authorities against their subjects, and the subjects against the authorities ; to permit every murderer to lay hands on such kings, the anointed of the Lord, as for the sake of God and of conscience have abhorred following their wicked devices. To gain such murderous hearts to their purposes, they have employed special promises, as the obtaining of everlasting salvation and deliverance from purgatory. Through the confessional they have discovered all secrets, and thus gained and governed the consciences of the people, so that neither could they do any good contrary to the will of these men, nor withstand that which was imposed upon and commanded by them, whether against God or his commandments. Like new knights-templar they have possessed themselves of large and rich estates ; mixed in worldly governments ; penetrated into all corners ; declared all who have refused subjection to the Roman church to be heretics, towards whom they declare that no obligation is binding upon any one. The witnesses of these practices are especially France, England, Hungary, Transylvania, Venice, the Netherlands, and some cities of the Roman empire. The like practices they have employed in this country, when, after many difficulties, formerly put in the way of our Christian religion (doubtless by their instigation), we had obtained from the Emperor Rudolph, of worthy memory, our king and sovereign, a charter

to protect us against them and their instruments, in the free exercise of our religion, and had likewise concluded an "agreement" with the *sub una*, in order that each party might freely and securely enjoy their religion without insult or reproach from the other. All this was ratified by his imperial majesty; and for the greater security it was entered in the public register. Yet, for all this, they have paid no regard to the penalties expressed in the said charter, but have used every artifice for the destruction and abolition thereof; they have boldly insulted and condemned our party *sub utraque* in their sermons and public meetings; they have misinterpreted the words of the charter, and applied a foreign sense to them, pretending that it had no reference to his majesty's subjects of the exchequer and the clergy, and finally, not even to the states *sub una*. Besides this they have weakened his majesty's authority and dignity in Bohemia, by publicly declaring that his majesty was not authorised to give us his faithful subjects that charter on religious points without the sanction of the Roman bishop, though the latter has no authority over us the states, much less over our sovereign and king. They have, however, so far prevailed, that some of the subjects upon the estates belonging to the convents, and also some of the states *sub utraque* were compelled by imprisonment and other means, to abandon their religion and join the *sub una;* occasionally also under the pretext of political causes. Here and there they closed the churches of the *sub utraque*, pulled down others, and prohibited their worship. The principal posts in the kingdom were reserved for the papists; and those of the *sub utraque*, who for conscience sake would not

countenance their practices, they expelled from office with great insults. The whole government and administration of this kingdom was committed to a few traitors belonging to the *sub una*, by whose instrumentality the designing men of the above order sought the downfall of our beloved country and our ruin, and by whose influence the present disorder has been brought about, and even our destruction must have followed, but for the love and mercy of God, which he bears towards his word and ourselves, which prevented it. Wherefore, as the source of seduction in this country, they have justly deserved to be no longer tolerated in this kingdom.

" For all these just reasons, and after due consideration, that, as long as the said sect shall abide in this kingdom, neither the above-mentioned grievances will be diminished, nor constant peace ever be established, but rather that both his majesty, our most gracious king and sovereign, and we the states with him, shall always be in great jeopardy of our lives and estates: We openly declare to all, that we, the three states, by a united agreement, have banished the whole of the Jesuitical faction from this kingdom, in which they have at this time their colleges and residences, and in particular from the cities of Prague, Bohemian Krumau, Commothau, Neuhaus and Glätz, and from all places in this kingdom where they did and do still abide, and by this letter we do banish them for ever, so that the whole of them, however numerous, where and with whom they may now be in this kingdom, shall, without delay, and peaceably, quit the same, and shall never in future return under any pretence, whether in the name of their own, or that of any other order.

But in case any one of them shall be found, where and with whomsoever it be, and under whatever cloak,* both he and also the person who sheltered him,† shall be treated by us, according to the laws of the country, as accomplices of the destroyers, and enemies of the state and its peace. After the said banishment, this Jesuitical faction shall never in future be introduced again to this country, whether by the intercession of the Roman bishop or any one else, nor under any character which human ingenuity may invent.

" But should they in future so prevail by their intrigues (which are their element), that it should be discussed in the general diets or elsewhere, whether they shall be again received into the country: no one of the states shall intercede for them on pain of the penalty decreed in the laws of the country against the enemies and destroyers of the kingdom. This we declare to all for a perpetual memorial.

" From this edict are excluded all others *sub una* of the Romish religion in the convents and elsewhere, who are peaceable in their order, and it shall only be in force against the above-mentioned Jesuits, who on account of their horrid devices practised against the authorities of this world, and all countries, have already in former times been driven out, by the *sub una* themselves, from such kingdoms and countries when peace was desired to be established in the same. For the confirmation of this the pre-

* *e. g.* in the clothes of colliers, as was really the case at that time.

† The same language was used a few years afterwards against the evangelical clergy.

sent edict has been signed and sealed by certain persons from among us on behalf of the whole three states *sub utraque*. Given at the castle of Prague, on the 9th of June, 1618."

Nine days previously the following decree was sent by the directors to the Jesuits:—

"The lords, through the grace of God, appointed and empowered, directed and sanctioned by the three states *sub utraque* of this kingdom of Bohemia, inform all the Jesuits of the college of St. Clement, in the old town of Prague: That whereas it is universally known, that they, like the rest of their sect, have up to this time been detrimental and injurious to this kingdom,* since by their intrigues, they, with their assistants, have destroyed its order, rights and privileges, have broken the general peace, and been the cause and introducers of all kinds of evil, on account of which the lords of the three states of Prague are highly aggrieved. And whereas they desire to abide secure against future dangers, under the happy government of his majesty the king of Bohemia: their graces, according to agreement, and the authority committed to them, declare, on behalf of the three states of this kingdom of Bohemia, to them and all other Jesuits, who reside therein, and strictly command them, that without delay, and within one week, ending with the Friday next after Whitsuntide, they shall peaceably remove from this kingdom to any other place. They are also commanded to inform other Jesuits, wherever they reside

* They must not be reproached for using strong language against the disciples of Loyola: it was strictly true, though they had to smart for it afterwards.

in this kingdom, that they too are banished from the country, and are commanded to quit it, in the same manner, and at the same time, and never again to enter therein. For if this be not observed, and any of the said Jesuits should continue longer in the country than the above prescribed time, and they (as well as every one else who in any way shall assist and protect them), should be overtaken by punishment; they must know that neither the directors nor the states will be accountable for it, as the due and legal banishment of such Jesuits from this kingdom published by this decree fully shews."

Similar decrees were forwarded to the Jesuits residing in Krumau and other places. And, "now," writes a contemporary from Prague, "are all the Jesuitical Patres and Fratres removed from Prague, according to the decree of the states, who observe good order in every espect. There were discovered all kinds of devilish, destructive inventions, besides thirty tons of gunpowder and other ammunition. Those Jesuits who departed on foot went regularly as mourners in a funeral, with a black cross; but those upon waggons, of which there were four, surmounted by a white cross, had their horses covered with black cloth. Yesterday, being holy Whitsuntide, they preached their farewell sermons in a very doleful manner; and our people carefully guard their college. To-day imperial commissaries are expected here. May it please Almighty God, that affairs may be brought to a happy issue! The Jesuits are likewise compelled to quit Commothau, Krumau, Neuhaus, and other places. Lord Martinitz and his secretary left for Vienna. They intended to serve us this Whitsuntide, as they did

the Huguenots at Paris in 1582. The German and other Evangelical churches were to have been blown up with gunpowder. The states observe in every thing good order and precaution, and public and private prayers are appointed for his majesty's happy and long reign. God grant that all may turn out for the best!"

One of the pamphlets published at Prague in 1619, entitled "Hussitish Bell," contains a letter written by the Jesuit Pater Gregor. Rümer, from Passau, to William Lamormain in Gräz; wherein he says that the Emperor had levied a large body of troops against the Bohemian states, from which he hopes much good to result for their order; but should it come to an amicable agreement, he fears that they must stay away, as was the case in Venice. "It is certain," says he, "that the states will refuse us a re-entrance except at the point of the sword. May God grant the Catholic princes a good heart and fresh courage to execute of it! There never could be a better opportunity for depriving the Bohemians of their liberties, which are so detrimental to the Catholic religion; but that will require great courage, on account of the number of troops with which the states may oppose them."

In this pamphlet the question is proposed,—"Will the enemies of the Evangelical states be able to extirpate them, and their religion, from the kingdom of Bohemia?" But, ah! at that time there was sufficient courage really to answer:—"For the enemies of Bohemia to accomplish it is utterly impossible, and all their attempts will be vain. It is clear as the sun, and well authenticated by history, that heretofore the tyranny and bloodshed, to

which they have been exposed by their persecutors, have only caused them to thrive and increase."

The expulsion of the Jesuits produced great joy among the Capuchins and other monks. Their intrusion was greatly feared in Upper Lusatia. Balbin, however, assures us that some Jesuits remained in Prague, disguised as coal-fire men.

CHAPTER IX.

PROPOSITIONS AND ARMAMENTS — DEFENCE — CONFEDERACY—ELECTION OF FREDERIC, THE ELECTOR PALATINE—THE CATHEDRAL SEIZED BY THE CALVINISTS—BATTLE ON THE WHITE-HILL—ITS RESULTS—RECONSECRATION OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Among many pamphlets which appeared in 1618, there is one with the title, "A sincere reflection upon the Bohemian troubles, by a true patriot, who means well to both parties," wherein the author earnestly recommends his imperial majesty to quell the uproar in Bohemia by kindness instead of arms. "No one," says he, "can as yet judge with certainty, because neither of the parties have been sufficiently heard, and his imperial majesty intends even, for that purpose, to appoint an inquisition. But suppose the *sub utraque* to be convicted rebels; I still think that nothing can be more injurious, and nothing more detrimental to his majesty's power, and that of the house of Austria, than to take up arms against the Bohemians." Among other things which the author touches upon are the appointment and coronation of Ferdinand II. at the time when the states were opposed to him. "It is a precarious foundation," said he, "to build upon, since it has often happened in Bohemia, Hungary, and other countries, that princes or sovereigns chosen and crowned as successors during the lifetime of the

reigning kings, were compelled to yield to others. Therefore, all occasion for suspicion ought to have been carefully avoided, that that which had lately been gained with so much trouble and anxiety should not be immediately endangered." He then advises the Emperor to appoint a commission of members of both religions; to dismiss his troops; to reconfirm and explain the charter; to sanction the banishment of the Jesuits; to appoint Evangelicals as well as Catholics to offices of state; and to publish a general amnesty. "These are, doubtless," he concludes, "unusual and strong points; but since it is to be feared that without them, things will never be brought to a settlement, especially as Bohemia is not an hereditary, but an elective kingdom, his majesty and the illustrious house of Austria ought to do something out of the usual course, that a dangerous change may be prevented in time."

Another contemporary writer says:—"If the authorities had afforded proper protection against misdemeanours practised in prospect of the Catholic triumph; had attention been paid to privileges; had the charter not been violated; had the innocent not been deprived of their offices; had religion not been violently attacked; had not obnoxious orders been sent to the guiltless, and the whole government committed to the Jesuits; then the free states would have been wrong in preparing for their own defence."

The decisive act of the 23rd of May left no room for hesitation or repentance, and that one crime could only be expiated by a chain of violent deeds. As the act itself was irrevocable, they thought it requisite to disarm the chastening hand. The directors

therefore continued the insurrection on a regular plan. They seized the entire administration of the government and all the revenues of the state, took all the king's officers and soldiers under their own authority, and summoned the whole nation of Bohemia to take part in the common cause.

As the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Utraquists, who now set aside their religious differences, were brought under one head, and became willing to stand as one man, had indeed reason to expect that the Emperor would not leave their undertaking unpunished, they concluded a mutual bond of defence. They levied troops throughout the country, and appointed Thurn commander-in-chief. They informed the Emperor, that though they had punished Martinitz and Slawata after the old custom of Bohemia, on account of their infringement of religious liberty, still they were not opposed to the Emperor; but with regard to the churches of Braunau and Klostergrab, they persisted in maintaining that they were right.

The Emperor shewed his indignation and intended severity by his edicts; he commanded the dismissal of the troops, and threatened to punish the rebels by force of arms. But this resulted in their preparing themselves the more zealously for defence, and craving help of Hungary, Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia.

When the Emperor, astonished at this boldness, assembled his council, they were of opinion that this opportunity ought not be lost for bringing the (constitutional) Bohemians under the yoke. Matthias preferred bringing it to an issue without war, and sent his privy counsellor Eusebius Khau to

treat with Thurn and Fels; but they declined the terms.

The Moravians likewise warned them through the excellent and eloquent Charles Zierotin, who was honoured by both parties. But they rejected the warning.

To the Emperor they, nevertheless, sent a justification of their conduct, rebutted his reproaches, warned him against evil devices, and again expressed their desire that the disturbers of the peace in Braunau and Klostergrab might be punished.

The following passages contain the substance of the Articles of Defence, "drawn up and confirmed in a great assembly of the three evangelical states in the castle of Prague, for the protection of their worship, and likewise for the prevention of all kinds of danger."

"That every one of the three states and inhabitants of the crown of Bohemia, shall hold himself and his horse in readiness in the best manner possible. Besides this the contributions adjudged in the last diet held in 1596, to land proprietors and those who have money lent out upon interest, shall now be doubled: so that he who before kept one horse shall now keep two, and he who before had two shall now present four fully equipped."

"Of the vassals the tenth and the fifth man shall be presented ready, and whenever necessity requires, every one shall be bound to appear with the best preparation possible; and wherever the march shall be indicated and commanded, every one shall immediately repair to the rendezvous pointed out, without excuse or delay. But in case any one, whether lord, knight, or commoner, upon whom the lot has fallen,

shall be prevented from appearing by the side of his men, he shall be bound to appoint and send such person in his place as is well skilled and experienced in war. Every one shall render obedience to the orders of the officers, as in the case of levied troops, under the penalty already decreed, and do everything as faithful and honest lovers of their king and country, for the intent and purpose of protecting and upholding against all molestation, in the first place, his imperial majesty as king and sovereign of this kingdom of Bohemia, and then the states *sub utraque*, and *sub una*, in their regulations, rights and worship. In case one or another shall draw back and be unwilling to stand firm and constant in this, he shall suffer the punishment formerly decreed.

"All this concerns his imperial majesty as our king, and especially what is most dear to the states, the salvation and happiness of their souls, their honour, lives, property, wives, and children, as also their well-being and privileges, by which this nation occupies such a prominent rank among others. Besides all this, there is the following special consideration. Of late years his imperial majesty himself advised the states incorporated in this kingdom to devise means by which, in case of necessity, they might aid and protect each other, and that a due defence should be instituted for their better security. Accordingly, in the general diet held in the year 1615, after some examples from our ancestors had been adduced, his majesty graciously agreed with us, the states of this kingdom, that whenever any disturbance should

happen, there should be levied for the defence a certain number of troops, viz. 2000 cavalry and two regiments of infantry, to be maintained and paid from the incoming contributions imposed upon all and every subject, and that our own Bohemian nation, and not foreigners, should choose and appoint well experienced and faithful officers over the said troops, who should lead and regulate them as they should think best. For the furtherance then of this most important and necessary affair, which nothing whatever can exceed, the provision having been made; and the contributions appointed by the diet of 1615, and granted for five years, of which the portion due has not been paid, shall now without delay be remitted to the chief officers appointed by us, and the future paid until the expiration of the said five years."

"We have also judged it salutary and necessary, considering that our undertaking cannot be crowned with success without good counsel, to choose and appoint certain individuals as counsellors and directors of the whole country; who, together with the lieutenant-general and field-marshal, also chosen and appointed by the state (the lieutenant-general having likewise power, according to necessity, to engage foreign, besides the native troops), and other officers in authority shall order and lead forward the above-mentioned troops to such places as may be most requisite, with proper care and safety; likewise, that in cases of peculiar difficulty they shall call in and order for themselves certain persons of consideration, with whom they shall consult. Besides this they are also to procure counsel and

help from the princes and electors of the Roman empire and other neighbouring countries."

"In case one of them should be called from this world by death (which we pray God in his fatherly love graciously to prevent), or that one shall be hindered from continuing in this institution by some other inevitable cause, he shall choose another from among the states qualified for the business. But should any be found so regardless of their duty towards their king and country, as to be unwilling to render due fidelity and obedience to the instituted union, they shall be duly and severely punished."

"The states have likewise engaged themselves by oath to the said persons, that they will not have recourse to any beside them, whether publicly or privately, without their previous knowledge or consent, much less will they abandon and leave them helpless. And if any one, or several, of the three states of this kingdom shall be summoned or called to account, be he or they whom they may, or under whatever pretext, he or they are not bound to appear or to give any answer, without first informing the above-mentioned persons of it."

"That the defence thus undertaken may not appear less to the benefit of the *sub una*,* the states of this kingdom of Bohemia *sub utraque*, who acknowledge the Bohemian confession, from innate love of consanguinity, from the good opinion they entertain of them, and by virtue of the agreement formed between both, continue in the hope that

* Namely, because they are to protect the nationality of the Bohemians and the constitutional liberty, against foreign intruders and future despotism.

they, the states *sub una*, will feel no displeasure or take offence at this, but join the *sub utraque* in the impending defence and preparation, and stand as one man for the protection of the Christian faith, at the side of his imperial majesty, both our and their king and sovereign, against all adversity and danger; and for the best of Christian union, brotherly love, and peace, help and further us in defending our beloved country against danger of destruction, especially of the Christian religion of the states *sub utraque*, and against the oppression devised against it.

" The states *sub utraque* and *sub una*, once thus united, in the above-mentioned organized defence, by the assistance of the Almighty, faithfully and perseveringly to stand for his imperial majesty at the risk of their lives, honour, and property, trust not only now, but also at all times in future, to live together in peace and harmony."

Thus the organization of defence was again made to rest upon the force of arms. It was no longer as it had been decided in 1609 :—" In case contention arise between those of *sub una* and *sub utraque*, so that one individual, whether of clerical or secular rank, insult or reproach the other on account of religion; or, contrary to the charter and the 'agreement' formed, put hindrance or difficulty in the way of another with respect to the exercise of his religion; his majesty, to avoid laying at all times such grievances before the diet, has agreed with the three states, and has instituted :—that the defenders are to report it to the authorities of the country, who are to present it to the emperor, and it shall finally

be decided in the register office by twelve deputies of the *sub una* and twelve of the *sub utraque.*"

Had all this been observed, had Ferdinand not been so bigoted against the non-catholics, Bohemia might have been very happy, and the unparalleled misery of the Thirty Years' War been prevented. In their despair they had recourse to arms. The Bohemians, however, expected help from the incorporated countries of Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, and even from Hungary. But the German princes assembled at Mulhausen warned the Bohemians against taking such a rash step, urged on by those who were the enemies of peace, and more intent upon their private benefit than that of the country.

The following very interesting document of 1618, is found in a contemporary pamphlet, entitled,— "Further confidential communications," in which the Bohemians inform the magnates of Hungary of the state of their affairs.

"Doubtless your Lordships are informed of the grievances which we, the states, with our vassals and the inhabitants of the kingdom of Bohemia, have borne during many years, in consequence of our profession of the pure gospel, and the reception of the most holy eucharist of our Lord Jesus Christ under both species, against which especially the sect of the Jesuits are bitterly opposed. All this may be fully seen in the resolutions of the various diets held in this kingdom, in which we sought only to secure the free exercise of our religion, and to escape from the deceitful machinations of our enemies. For this purpose we obtained a special charter from the Emperor Rudolph, and formed an agreement with those who adhere to the Romish church,

that no party should injure or offend the other by word or deed. We likewise resolved, that if any one acted contrary to this agreement, both parties should unite against such as a criminal and disturber of the common peace. Both these, the said charter and the union which we subsequently formed, we committed for a perpetual memorial to our archives, believing that none would dare to break the law thus established by the king and the states.

"But experience has proved how miserably we have been deceived. A few of our countrymen, like a blighting pestilence, have presumptuously arrogated to themselves power over our lives and consciences, and used their authority to prohibit the exercise of our religion; and what they could not accomplish publicly, they have attempted by craft and secresy; in this they have abused the king's name, have shut up the Evangelical churches, demolished those which were newly built, and whoever required help from the defenders (appointed by the states in the public diet, with the sanction of the king and the said charter) they have thrown into prison; and in order that they might not intercede for them, they have intimidated the defenders by threatenings and mandates from the king. But when the defenders, to alleviate these grievances, called some of us together, according to privilege, they decried such an assembly as rebellion against the king, and without further procedure accused them and us *criminis læsæ majestatis.*

"As we could perceive no end to these things, and access to the king was denied us, (for so far they had gained his ears and heart,) we were compelled to consult together to save the country from

utter ruin, and to restore it to its former state of religious liberty. For these causes, three of the chief enemies of our country and the peace, namely, William Slawata of Chlum and Koschenberg, Jaroslaw Borzita Martinitz (otherwise called Smeczansky), and George Fabricius, as instruments of the Jesuits, we threw from the windows of a place, of which it is evident they had made themselves unworthy by their abuses. The other, still in prison, we intend (please God) duly to punish for the crimes committed, as your Lordships will be further instructed from the Apology in the Bohemian language appended to this letter. Wherefore, should the common report inform you differently, or should any one represent that deed in a different light, we entreat you not to give credit to it, for the sake of the mutual confidence hitherto existing between the kingdom of Hungary and the crown of Bohemia; and also from love to the Evangelical religion, and for further alliance, we entreat you to send us without delay two ambassadors, with the promise of assistance if necessity should require it, which we also engage to do for you in the like exigency."

Similar memorials were doubtless sent to Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia; for they counted upon the former confederacy.

Matthias now made preparations to reduce them by force of arms, and the war began. But the attendant circumstances cannot be minutely described in this work, which is only intended to exhibit the state of religion in Bohemia.

After the Emperor had once more tried in vain to avoid bloodshed, by a manifesto filled with *gra-*

cious promises, he sent field-marshals Dampierre, Buchheim, &c. against the rebels. The Bohemians were assisted by mercenary and Silesian troops under the command of Count Thurn, Joachim Count Schlik, and Count Ernest Mansfeld. The scenes of action in that first period of the thirty years' war (1618) were Budweis, Krumau (Neuhaus), and Pilsen.*

But even in remote countries it began to be a time of anxiety. Thus, for instance, in the cities of the then Bohemian Lusatia, notice was given to all the citizens on the 3rd of July to hold themselves in readiness against accidents; all theatrical amusements were prohibited, and special prayers for success were appointed. There was still, however, some prospect of an accommodation through the mediation of other princes, and negotiations were carried on in the course of 1618 and 1619; Saxony, Bavaria and Mentz interposing. But Sigismund, king of Poland, threatened Bohemia with the sword. Saxony strenuously exerted herself to restore peace; and a negotiation was appointed at Eger in April, 1619, by the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony, for an amicable arrangement. But the Bohemians themselves were divided. Budowa, Harant, Schlik, Mitrowitz and others, wished for peace; but the violent party, such as Thurn and Fels, breathed nothing but war. Fourteen commissioners however, were sent from Bohemia to Eger, to obtain the following conditions: 'The Emperor Matthias to ratify afresh the charter and other religious privileges; the decree concerning the

* The title of a printed statement of what passed at Pilsen at that time is thus expressed: "Printed with the consent of the directors, with a dedication to the states."

churches of Braunau, &c. which were shut up, to be repealed, as also the interdict passed without the knowledge and will of the king against holding of assemblies; the Jesuits at no time to be admitted into the country, and the archbishop Lohelius of Prague, the abbot Guestenberg of Strahou, and the abbot Selender of Braunau, never to be allowed to return. The states were likewise to have the power of forming alliances with the neighbouring nations, and to maintain an armed force.' Compliance with such conditions could not reasonably be expected. Before the negotiation commenced, however, the old emperor and king Matthias, died at Vienna, on the 20th of March, 1619.

Ferdinand II. who now succeeded as rightful king of Bohemia, offered the Praguers, the Protestants included, the ratification of their privileges, and expressed his desire for a friendly agreement. But it soon appeared that the states, and especially the directors, were unwilling to acknowledge Ferdinand as lawful successor to the throne, because of his entanglement in the artful snares of the Jesuits. The states were well aware that, agreeably to the instigations of that order, Ferdinand had vowed the destruction of the Protestants, which he had attempted in the countries hitherto under his sway, and that he would not allow the charter to remain valid. They were also full of zeal for their cause, dissatisfied with an enforced successor to the throne, indignant on account of the threatenings against their assemblies, and overwhelmed by the storm of their passions, excited by the treatment they had received. The previous reception and coronation of

Ferdinand could certainly not be revoked: but the Bohemians maintained that they had been taken by surprise; Bohemia being an elective kingdom, and Ferdinand not Matthias' son, they had less hesitation to dispose of the crown. Bearing in mind what happened in Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, they were sure that Ferdinand was surrounded with counsellors full of enmity against Bohemia, and they seized every point that had the appearance of right against him.

Their scruples and conditions may be seen in a writing of Lebzeller, in which it is said:—"The states feel it very much that the king confirms the governors in their offices, who in fact were the cause of the disturbance, and have so behaved that, legally they have forfeited their lives, honour and property. According to what has lately been indicated, the states are in general ill-affected towards his royal dignity, and that for several reasons. First, that the election was not properly conducted; secondly, that after the election was over, he, contrary to the assurance he had given, assumed the government, afforded every possible help and furtherance for sending in troops;* thirdly, that after the decease of his imperial majesty, he ordered the officers to swear the troops in again in his own name; fourthly, that immediately after his imperial majesty's decease, he despatched various couriers with orders to continue the levying of troops against the rebellious Bohemians, whereby he has declared himself an enemy; fifthly, they present to him his persecutions against his own subjects; sixthly, that since he is so devoted to the

* This is alleged to be proved by existing original writings.

Jesuits, and is obliged to confess to them daily, and entrust them with his secrets, the little song is often sung to him: "faith need not be kept with heretics"—of which there are several examples. For these and other causes, all affection for him has become extinct. But were it ever to come to a treaty, the conditions would be of the following nature:—First, and before all things, to accomplish a conjunction with Hungary, Austria above and below the Ems, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia; second, to explain the charter, and to confirm it anew in the best form; third, to enter in the register office the three new churches in the cities of Prague;* fourth, never to admit the Jesuits; fifth, to explain the privileges of the country, and to publish them afresh; sixth, to grant the states the right of assembling in the Caroline college, or elsewhere, as often as it please them or necessity shall require, without the least obstruction; seventh, that the defenders may organise a scheme of defence according to their own convenience; eighth, that in the towns the imperial justices be entirely dismissed and those privileges restored to them which had been weakened in various ways; ninth, to build no fortresses without the consent of the states; tenth, under no pretence whatever to introduce foreign troops to the country; eleventh, not to admit any more Catholic clergy; twelfth, to allow in all parts of the kingdom the establishment of true religion and the building of churches; thirteenth, in every respect to confirm the banishment of those persons named in the last decision of the diet; fourteenth, to draw up in writing a formal acknowledgment that his royal dig-

* *e g.* The churches built by the Lutherans in 1609.

nity has no pretension to hereditary right; also, that the states are authorised to confer the crown after his death to his son, or to whomsoever they shall please."

As they would not acknowledge Ferdinand unconditionally, or rather, as they did not wish to have him at all, war was immediately commenced. Buquoy raged in Bohemia with fire and sword; his Italian and Wallonian soldiers spared nothing, and marched from town to town. The Protestant general, Ernest Mansfeld, was unsuccessful in his operations; but Thurn, with 16,000 men in Moravia, stirred up the inhabitants against Ferdinand, made prisoners of the nobles who remained faithful to Ferdinand, and drove away the Jesuits. He even advanced with his army into Austria, encamped near Vienna, and attacked Ferdinand in his imperial castle, when sixteen of his nobles conspired to induce him to agree to the demands of the Bohemians. But Thurn was opposed by Dampierre's cuirassiers, who saved Ferdinand from his perilous situation, for which he well rewarded them. Thurn being thus driven back, was recalled to Bohemia. Soon afterwards Ferdinand himself left Vienna for the imperial election at Frankfort. There he presented himself as Elector of Bohemia, surrounded by certain Bohemian grandees. The delegates of the directors maintained in vain, that the electoral vote did not belong to the person of Ferdinand, but to the Bohemian state; and Ferdinand becoming "king of the Romans," was soon after crowned as such, whereby the probability of his success in Bohemia was greatly increased. The Protestants were indeed cast down, but shewed no disposition to

surrender; and in vain did William Lobkowitz advise them not to bring themselves under a heavier yoke by a fruitless resistance.

The directors now called a meeting of the states, at which great numbers appeared, and held long consultations with the deputies from Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia. Lusatia had already in 1618 held several diets and consultations at Budissin and Löbau, and this province joined the confederacy against Ferdinand, reluctantly and with hesitation. The result of the consultations was, that the states of Bohemia and the incorporated countries neither could, nor ought, nor would, receive Ferdinand,* because he had obtained his coronation not according to a free election, but by intrigue and sinister means; that he had broken his promise to confirm the charter four weeks after the Emperor's death; upon failure of which confirmation they could be under no obligation to accept him.

Though some aimed at converting Bohemia into a republic, the majority of the states resolved to choose a king. Among the candidates were, the Count Palatine, or elector of the Palatinate, Frederic V.; the elector John George of Saxony; Duke Maximilian of Bavaria; the king of Denmark, and others. William Rupa exerted all his eloquence in favour of the Elector Frederic. He expatiated on his good qualities; reminded the states that he had been head of the Protestant

* The "Deductions-schrift" says, p. 388:—"Many look upon it as a difficult matter to oppose the Emperor Ferdinand with arms; but the war could only be directed against him as arch-elector of Austria, he having deprived himself of all hope by manifest unconstitutional proceedings; therefore the states owe more to God and the country than to him."

union formed in 1609, (but in which electoral Saxony, Brunswick, and Hesse-Darmstadt did not join); and also that he was son-in-law of a very powerful prince, the king of England. On the 26th of August he was elected by a large majority of the states; but his Calvinistic opinions were not desirable to the Lutheran clergymen, and several of the confederates, among others Schlik and Fels, voted for John George of Saxony. There were, however, many of the nobles who sided with Ferdinand, and were forced to flee. Sweden, Denmark, Transylvania, Holland, and Venice, acknowledged Frederic; but Saxony declined.

Frederic was a man of a lively spirit and a benevolent heart, but by no means adapted for his new position. Notwithstanding the warnings given him, he confided in the power of the Protestant union, and the aid of Bethlehem Gabor of Transylvania, although the Catholic league was opposed thereto. He was, moreover, animated by the thought of doing much for religious liberty. All which induced him to accept of this precarious crown. His reception and the ceremony of the coronation were as splendid and joyous, as if there had been no necessity for thinking of any further danger. The Bohemian ambassadors proceeded as far as Eger and Waldsassen to meet him. Joachim Andreas Count Schlik, his lady, and Wenzel Raupowa accosted him in the French language. The contrast between the affability of Frederic and the gloomy severity of Ferdinand was very great; and his party were most enthusiastic in his behalf. He gave to the ambassadors the required assurances, and proceeded with them to the royal residence. Five days after his arrival he and his consort were crowned with the greatest solemnity

by the administrator of the utraquistic consistory, George Dikastus Mirzkowa, who before had been nominated vicar of the archbishop. There was a great number of evangelical clergymen present. But truly every sensible man looked upon those inconsistent things with alarm; especially when it appeared that Frederic was personally incompetent for his task, and soon after committed many blunders. Nevertheless, his condescension gained him numerous friends among the people, both in Bohemia, Moravia, and Lusatia. He was prevented from receiving the oath of allegiance from the latter province, by the invasion of the imperial troops. Charles Zierotin, already mentioned, though a Picard, continued faithful to Ferdinand, and admonished the king publicly on the precariousness of his situation.

In a contemporary work, which gives at great length the reasons why "those countries were compelled to proceed to the due and legal election of his present majesty," it is especially shewn that they sought to convert Bohemia, an elective kingdom, into an Austrian-Spanish province; and with regard to faith, it is said, "the evangelical religion and liberty of conscience, which these nations have with their lives defended against the whole popedom, and handed them down to posterity for more than 200 years, they have through the intrigues and craft of the Jesuits, and the pulling down of churches, employed all possible exertions to exterminate, and, by setting aside and annulling the charters and immunities, to re-introduce and establish the papal abomination in these powerful provinces, to the extreme danger of all other evangelical states."

We must refer our readers, who wish for a more accurate knowledge of those events, to the political and historical works relating to that period; intending only to impart here more fully that portion which embraces the affairs of religion; which are least known in foreign parts. It is, however, only by using Bohemian documents, and especially the work upon the cathedral of Prague by the prebendary Pessina, that we can gain much information.

Most unwise at that time, of the so-called 'winter-king' Frederic, was his irritating proceedings with regard to the cathedral, which his reformed court-chaplain Abraham Scultetus or Schulz, arranged for Calvinistic worship. The Jesuits, as we have seen, had already been banished, and the archbishop with his chapters were prohibited from returning, on pain of imprisonment for life. Against these latter the directors were especially offended, because they refused to give waggons from the cathedral estates for transporting the guns when Thurn proceeded against Dampierre and Buquoy. They would then have deprived them of their estates had it not been for William Lobkowitz, senior, and a few others, who advised that they should be treated with greater lenity. On the 18th of December, 1618, the directors, supposing them to possess considerable sums of ready money, asked of them a loan of a certain sum, for the immediate wants of the states. Being unable to comply with the demand, the prebendaries were by degrees deprived of their estates, during July and August, 1619. The displeasure of the directors was excited in a still higher degree, when, on the election of Frederic, the cathedral bells were ordered

to join in the thundering discharge of the guns, and the yet remaining prebendaries refused to comply with the command. Dean Arsenius, who made himself especially obnoxious, could only avoid imprisonment by flight, and his apartments were plundered. On the 15th of October, 1619, they took possession of the cathedral, which the chapters were ordered to quit within three days; and Kutnauer, one of the directors, delivered to them an order to proceed with the keys to the cathedral. Then came the directors' commissaries, who demanding the keys, took an inventory of sacred things in the chapel of St. Wenzel. Some of these the prebendaries had concealed in the convent of St. Emmeran, just as their precursors had concealed them in the convent of the Celestines at Oybin, during their danger from the Hussites. The dean's request for a week's respite was in vain; they were obliged to yield, the church was sealed, guards were stationed around it day and night, and the chapters being summoned before the directors, an investigation began respecting the transportation of the holy relics, which was interrupted by the arrival of Frederic. On the 18th of October the prebendaries were compelled to quit the cathedral buildings, and in doleful plight they retired to the former residence of the provost in the Hradschin. With great difficulty one of the cathedral vicars was allowed to enter the chapel of St. Wenzel, in order to remove thence the consecrated host (always ready for the sick), to Adalbert's chapel. On the 20th of November, 1619, the chapters reported to the archbishop, John Lohelius, who still continued, "the deplorable state of the cathedral in those sad

times." They say:—"Until the coronation of the new king the church remained shut up, now we are prohibited from performing our service in it; the Catholics everywhere mourn over it. A new, and never before heard of religion and ceremonies, are introduced there. Three times in the week a Calvinistic sermon is preached in it, and three times the great bell is rung. We dare not enter it, and there is no hope of ever restoring the old state of things; and it is almost over with the Catholic religion throughout the whole kingdom of Bohemia. All of us, with the exception of Kobwa, who preaches at St. James's, live in the Hradschin, while our dwellings* near the palace are occupied by preachers and other men. We read mass, scattered in the church of St. Benedict, of which they do not intend to deprive us. We are distracted between fear and hope, no one can help us in our distress. Our villages are squandered away, sold or mortgaged; we receive no allowance, and what we shall do, and what the end will be, we cannot tell."

A more detailed account will here be inserted of the proceedings in the cathedral of Prague, because in the writings of Protestants there is little said of it, and the conduct of Frederic's court-chaplain† in that business explains why the exasperation of the Catholic clergy rose to such a height after their restoration. "As soon as the cathedral

* See also a letter by Muller, 273; from which it appears that they proposed to the Catholic clergy who were not satified with their allowance, to go to work on the redoubts, which would bring them an extra dollar per week!

† Besides Frederic's chaplain Scultetus, there was an English court-chaplain to the queen, named Alex. Scapman.

fell into the hands of the Calvinists (writes one of the monks), it was fearfully desecrated. The altars were broken down, the images shivered in pieces, the relics burned, and trampled upon [so Jerome acted on one occasion], and they committed such shocking and ungodly deeds, that I think of them with horror, and would not offend the mind of the pious by the relation."

An eye-witness, Simon Kapihorsky, in his chronicle of the convent of Sedletz, describes the impetuous proceedings during the time of Frederic the Palatine, and his court-chaplain Schulz, as follows:—

"It was on the 21st of December, 1619, that the Calvinists, by order of Frederic, laid wicked hands upon the church of the castle at St. Viet, and waged war against the altars, the images, and the tombs of the saints. Opposite the high altar there stood upon a square beam the image of the crucified Saviour; this was the first of all thrown down, and not without great noise. Many went so far as to trample upon it with their feet. Then they threw it upon a heap, with the images of Mary and John, and also a superb image of Mary, which the countess Lucy Slawata used especially to honour and decorate. What they did with it I am ashamed to tell. Then they proceeded to the tomb of St. John Nepomuk and removed it. The tombs of the tutelar saints they despoiled of all their decorations, with many blasphemous expressions. Nor did they leave untouched the high altar, with the chairs of the archbishop and the canons. They had all removed, with the broken images and statues, and burned them, as one hundred years before did Dr. Carlstadt in the church

of the castle at Wittemberg. A most beautiful crucifix, which the emperor Rudolph had made at Nuremberg, and set up over the kings' tombs, William Lobkowitz, senior, obtained by request from among the fragments, and conveyed it to his residence. Thus the wicked band raged till sunset. On the next day they pulled down two altars in the Pernstein chapel. Heads and bones of the saints were thrown away, broken, and trampled upon; among them were relics of the 11,000 virgins, and of St. Mauritius, in boxes of gold and silk. By order of Schultz they were taken to the fire by two maids. The exertions of some Catholics to save them were vain. Besides this, there was no want of mocking; as, 'Defend yourselves! ye bones; work miracles! you shall have rest now; no one will now disturb you to pray for him!'

"After the temple had thus been cleansed, as they called it, a table was put in the middle of the choir on Christmas-eve, with twelve chairs round it; and there they celebrated the eucharist, on the next day, in the following manner. The king himself took the bread, (a round cake,) and broke it; another put the pieces on a little plate, and then every one took a piece and ate it; and then a sip of the wine. A great multitude of Bohemians, both Hussites and Lutherans, came to see the celebration of the eucharist, who looked on with great astonishment, and not without pain, and said openly that they had never seen the eucharist celebrated in this way, nor could they believe that this could be salutary to the soul.

"On the 27th of December they went about the church with renewed fury. First of all they threw

out of the chapel of St. Sigismund the altar of the holy virgin Mary, the picture of which Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. had caused to be painted at Wittemberg.* Opinions were divided as to whether the tomb,† built of alabaster with great art, in which several kings and emperors were deposited, was or was not to be removed."

Kapihorsky further relates a few traits of the "winter-king" which are too characteristic to be omitted. "On the 27th of December Frederic's consort brought him a son. This caused so much joy that the king desired to have the bells rung and the guns fired the whole night; but he was dissuaded from it. About the same time orders were sent to the council of the old town, that the crucifix standing from ancient times on the bridge should be removed, as it was offensive to the queen. But the council remonstrating, that it could not be done without the consent of the citizens, who valued it, they feared an uproar; and so it remained untouched. On the 29th of December the king took a drive in a sledge through the three divisions of the city; and proceeded to Count Thurn's, with whom he supped. He wore a furred coat of red silk, and a white hat with yellow feathers. His brother and a prince of Anhalt were with him. He shewed himself especially affable to the nobility, and more condescending than became royalty.

* The church is furnished round about with chapels, in which are deposited the remains of all the princes and great men.

† Upon this are, for instance, the figures of Charles IV. with his four wives. As to the intended reformation of the church of the Jesuits in the old town, where they were to preach in the German, Bohemian, and French languages, see Muller, 236.

When he gave audience he accosted by removing his hat, and his address was most flattering and kind. Whoever left him he accompanied to the door. When he had to give an answer, he withdrew with his chancellor Raupowa into a private chamber, and consulting him, asked what he should reply; 'What think you, my lord? what is your opinion?' When on one occasion the ladies of the states paid a court visit to his queen, he received them most politely, expressing his joy in a very extravagant manner, and did not hesitate to dance with them. This took place in Rudolph's new palace. On another occasion, in a party at the burgrave Bohuchwal Berka's, where he led on such dances, he complained, that he knew not what to think of the Bohemian young ladies refusing to kiss him! He often walked on foot as far as the park, being followed only by two domestics or pages. In a word, there was not a trace of royal majesty about him."

A law was passed, according to the statement of Kapihorsky, that a new ecclesiastical order should be introduced into all the churches of the country; but this was never published.

"All the bells were to be brought to the castle of Prague. The altars of stone erected by the Catholics were to be removed, and wooden tables put in their stead, covered with black cloth, and to be overspread during the celebration of the eucharist with white linen. All the images, whether of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the saints, and all other representations in the churches erected by the papists for image worship, were to be destroyed. Instead of the wafer, a round cake or loaf was to be used, of which the people

were to receive a slice.* Every one was to take his portion with his own hand, and so of the cup. Instead of golden and silver cups, wooden ones are to serve. The consecration is no longer to be sung,† but merely read aloud, and the usual prayer before the communion is to be omitted. White garments, gowns, surplices, &c. are to be discontinued, as being of popish institution. Candles are no longer to burn upon the altars, and no kerchiefs to be held before the communicants. No bending the knees are to be made before the altars, because Christ is not there in person. The sign of the cross after the blessing is to be discontinued. Ministers are not to turn their backs at the altar-table as formerly, but so to stand that the people may be before them. Auricular confession is to cease, and sins are to be delivered by word of mouth or in writing. Collects and Amen are not to be sung but spoken. At the name of Jesus the hat shall not be taken off; neither is the knee or the head to be bowed, since that would be idolatry. The preaching in the pulpit is to be done gently and without bawling. There shall be no communion of the sick, especially in time of the plague. The stone fonts are to be removed from the churches, and basins of tin or copper are to be used in their stead. Tombs and other monuments are not to be suffered inside the churches.

* More remarkable was the procedure at Münster, where rolls broken in a dish, with wine poured over them, were consecrated and then partaken of; and where once, (in 1531,) 4,200 had a great holy supper on tables. See Ranke's German Hist. in the time of the Reformation, iii. 520, 541. Greeks, Russians, and some Hussites, even took the communion with spoons.

† Comp. the polemical Calvinistic verses in Mich. Weiss's Hymn Book of the Brethren of 1539, p. 111.

Images of the Holy Trinity are in nowise to be painted or cut in stone. The Decalogue in the Catechism is to be differently divided. The commandment regarding images is to precede; the ninth and tenth are to be joined in one. In the articles of faith and the eucharist, the words "this is the true body and blood of Christ," are to be expunged, and instead of them the words "the visible sign" are to be put and read. The texts for sermons and expositions are not to be confined to the Gospels and Epistles only, but may be taken from any part of the Bible."

It was natural, when the cathedral became the court church of a Calvinistic king, that the arrangements would also be Calvinistic; and the offence it must have given both to Romanists and Lutherans may easily be imagined. The author of it is supposed to have been the above-mentioned Schulz.* Frederic thought of doing a good work, if all this should be immediately enacted and accomplished. But the states and even the non-catholics were against it; partly because it was contrary to their church rites, and partly because they feared an uproar among the people, of which there were already some indications. And indeed the Reformed were always the smallest number. Frederic gained no advantage by these regulations, but many among the states became dissatisfied with him.

The clergy of the cathedral reported all this to their archbishop at Vienna, on the 14th of January,

* Schulz (Scultetus), was upon the whole a very learned man, and an author in every department of theology. He was born in Silesia, and died in exile at Emden in 1624.

1620. They greatly deplored the destruction of so many sacred works of art, and asked for direction. On the 30th of May he exhorted them to patience and hope.

Pessina then relates, that even utraquists shed tears on account of the proceedings in the cathedral; their confidence in Frederic rapidly diminished, and they began already to curse the states who had introduced such a man to the kingdom. The canons applied themselves to the utraquists among the states, who were also opposed to the Calvinistic innovations. After much exertion they succeeded in preserving unmolested the chapel of St. Wenzel, and the upper sacristy. Pessina gives several documents and petitions that were sent to the states, the directors, the burgrave, and the chief justice Schlik. They especially petitioned the burgrave that they might be permitted to secure the bodies of the patron saints of the country, the dearest treasure of Bohemia, viz. those of St. Veit, St. Wenzel, St. Adalbert, and St. Sigismund, with some few pictures. They also requested several things of chancellor Raupowa, especially the Jerusalem chandelier, to this day preserved in the cathedral, and appealed to the king's lieutenant and the counsellors.

As Frederic wanted money to continue the war, it was proposed that the church plate should be melted down. It was not suspected that the treasures had been conveyed to Ratisbon, but rather that they had been concealed in the vaults or in the earth. As they were unable to obtain information from the dean, either by promises or threatenings, it was proposed to imprison him, and one even advised the application of the

rack. But the dean effected his escape to the convent of the Capuchins, and thence to St. Margaret's upon the White-hill. The prebendary Kobwa, on account of some expressions in a sermon preached in the convent of St. James, was imprisoned in the old town until after the battle upon the White-hill, when he was liberated, and became provost of Leitmeritz, and, under Wallenstein, bishop of Gitschin.

Many were the remonstrances of the states with the king on these violations of the cathedral, especially for his own sake, lest he should make himself odious to the utraquists; but the queen, who was a strict Calvinist and an enemy to Romanism, and the advice of Schulz prevailed. Among the grandees who spoke decidedly against these outrages on the feelings of the people was William Lobkowitz; so strong were his expressions that the king complained of it to Count Thurn. They, however, had so much effect, that he ordered the rest of the statues and pictures to be shut up in the chapel of St. Adalbert.

The pamphlets of that period exhibit the ideas of the people relative to the religious liberty which they expected to enjoy under king Frederic, who is often extravagantly praised.

The authority of the directors was now at an end, and the various officers freed from their duty towards them. There was no prospect of outward peace; and much blood was shed both in Austria and Bohemia. The chief commanders among the imperialists were Buquoy, Tilly, Maximilian of Bavaria, (Ferdinand's friend and spiritual relative, who afterwards obtained the Upper Palatinate,) and Pappenheim. Frederic's principal generals

were Prince Christian of Anhalt, and Count George of Hohenlohe. But there was great dissatisfaction because the chief command was not conferred upon a Bohemian; Thurn being merely subordinate; and the soldiers, who were often left without pay, were as dissolute as though they were enemies of the country. Frederic went once to battle in person, but only for a short time.

Anhalt having taken up his position on the White Hill, near Prague, there the fortune of the war was decided on the 8th of November, 1620. During the battle Frederic himself was at table with the English ambassador and some ladies. But the eloquent Carmelite, Dominicus a Jesu, so forcibly harangued Ferdinand's troops, that they totally vanquished the 20,000 men of the 'winter-king,' although many, especially the Moravians under Thurn, junior, and Henry Schlik, fought valiantly. The day was most decisive. The Pope, upon the report of the victory, thanked God upon his knees, with tears of joy. Ferdinand felt himself free and happy, and to all the Catholic princes it was a most welcome circumstance, that the Protestant "union," of which Frederic was the head, was dissolved at the same time. The prevalent aim was now, either to force all the Protestant princes to the religion of Rome, or—to destroy them. That *union* and the opposition *league* of Wurzburg, formed by Catholic princes in 1610 and sanctioned by the Pope, are reckoned the chief causes of the thirty years' war.

The "Deductions-schrift," already quoted, gives the following account of the conduct of Ferdinand's troops after the battle:—

"Ferdinand has left the Hungarian troops from

the frontier-fortresses, at liberty to devastate and destroy everything with fire and sword without mercy. They have acted as though they were not men, but beasts void of reason. By what order this was done may be seen from the licence which, according to the statement of the Hungarian states themselves, Ferdinand gave to these troops. Whereby, instead of his avowed royal protection and defence, he has not only made himself participator in, but has even approved of and commanded unheard-of cruelties, and the daily increasing hostilities practised against the kingdom of Bohemia and the incorporated countries. Our country is so exposed to plunder, murder, and burning by foreign troops, that not even the children in their cradles, nor the corpses in their graves are spared, but everything is attacked, and it can only be concluded, that it is intended for the entire extirpation of the Bohemian nation.

"According to the statutes and regulations of the country, the king of Bohemia is to enter upon no war without the decision and consent of the diet, nor is he to introduce foreign troops into the country. But the Emperor Ferdinand, on the contrary, has not only commenced this war without the knowledge and consent of the states, but needlessly against them, their privileges, and their religion; and besides Christians and natives, he has even introduced foreign troops, as Cossacks, Tartars, and Turks, to the ruin of the country; who, together with Spanish marauders and incendiaries, have so tyrannized in Bohemia, that five important districts are already totally ruined, above *three thousand* towns, villages, market-places, farms, castles, and estates, are devastated and burnt, so that for several

miles not one whole house can be seen or found, but all is in ruins.

"No proper account has yet been obtained of the number of poor people, their wives and children, who have either been killed or burnt. But besides those who were massacred, several thousands perished in the woods from cold, hunger, and grief. Fruitful and noble Bohemia is now reduced to a condition so miserable, that in the estates situate about Rosenberg and Budoweiss, on account of their great destitution, parents put their children to the plough, and husbands their wives, that they may prevent absolute starvation. But even the little thus obtained, they are not permitted to enjoy, for they are forcibly deprived of what has not already been destroyed or burnt in the field."

The author of the *Deduction* adds: "What the disposition of the people of Bohemia must be towards Ferdinand, and whether all this was in accordance with the oath of royal obligation, we leave for the consideration of Christian hearts and feelings."

The circumstances of the battle upon the White-hill, are described by many political historians; but the inquiry into the mediate and immediate results of that battle upon the Protestants is of more importance to us. How great must have been their suspense of mind, and the terror in which they lived! With the turn of that decisive day everything connected with the confessions became completely changed. The victorious Romanists now had every thing in their power.* Considering the

* Never, says Lamormain and others, was there a more favourable opportunity for depriving the Bohemians of their ancient constitutional rights.

proceedings as a whole, there was some show of moderation; but looking at individual cases, there followed acts of violence and barbarity as great as ever insolence and malice could have dictated to such as had been the participators of a victory over a hated enemy. It must be acknowledged to the credit of Tilly, that to many he gave opportunities and hints for making their escape by flight. We shall better apprehend the situation of the Protestants if we direct our attention to the events which followed the loss of the battle.

From Pelzel we learn, that the Prince of Anhalt and Count Hohenlohe, through whose inexperience and cowardice the battle had been lost, saved themselves in good time by flight to Prague. They there met Frederic at the gate of Strahow, and advised him to send a delegate to the Duke of Bavaria, and request a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours. Frederic took their advice; but Maximiliam granted him eight hours only, and that upon condition of his immediately renouncing all claim to Bohemia and the rest of the provinces. But Frederic, by the counsel of Anhalt, determined to quit Prague, and ordering the crown, all the jewels, and the archives of the kingdom, which were kept in the chapel of St. Wenzel, to be packed up, he proceeded to the old-town in the greatest alarm. The consternation of the generals was so great, that none of them thought of further resistance. The troops which escaped from the battle were dispersed; and the citizens of Prague demanded of Frederic what they were to do in a state of such confusion? He replied, that they must think of an accommodation with the enemy; as for himself, he should depart early in the morning. The

citizens prayed him to continue, as they were yet strong enough to stand a siege; and even offered to levy for him a considerable army in the city. Young Thurn and Schlemmersdorf also represented to him, that they had seventeen battalions yet under their command; that those who had fled from the battle only waited the sound of the drum, in order to return to their banners; that eight thousand Hungarians had arrived near Brandeis, as auxiliary troops; and that Mansfeld, in the rear of the enemy, occupied Tabor, Pilsen, and Falkenau, with his troops. But Anhalt advised him to fly, saying, that the Bohemians were not to be trusted; and that they would doubtless deliver him over to Ferdinand, in order the more certainly to obtain pardon for their revolt. Frederic took his advice. He left all that had been packed, in the market-place of the old-town, and fled with his queen and children to Breslau.* Anhalt, Hohenlohe, Thurn, senior, Bohuslaw Berka, Raupowa (Ruppa), John Bubna, senior, and others, accompanied him.

"As soon as Frederic had left the city, the citizens of the Kleinseite, who were generally attached to the Emperor, sent delegates to the victorious generals Maximilian and Buquoy, praying them to enter the city and take it under their protection; as the Walloons had already approached, and meeting with no opposition, had begun to scale the walls. For they feared a general pillage and massacre, if the city should be taken by those troops. The Strahow gate was accordingly opened, and about

* Thence he proceeded to Holland. On his further fate, see more fully in the new work of Stöltl, "Religious War in Germany," p. 234—371; and Muller on the Boh. War 460.

noon Duke Maximilian, accompanied by Buquoy, Tilly, and other generals, with a small body of troops, arrived at the Hradschin. William Lobkowitz, and five other Bohemian lords, met him, and congratulated him on his victory. In a long speech they, with tears in their eyes, prayed for forgiveness of their revolt, the preservation of their privileges, the free exercise of their religion, and that the city might be saved from pillage. Maximilian answered kindly, that as far as it was in his own power he would prevent the pillage; the other points he had neither orders nor authority to determine; but he advised them to submit themselves to the Emperor without conditions. Then delegates arrived from the old and new town, who, in the name of their fellow-citizens, prayed for a truce of three days, that they might draw up the terms under which they would surrender. The reply was, that not even three hours would be granted; and they were commanded to surrender instantly. They obeyed, and not only swore obedience and fidelity to the Emperor, but even gave up their arms to the Duke, before whom, on the third day, all the Bohemian lords and knights who were in Prague appeared. They publicly acknowledged their crime, and renounced their alliance with Silesia, Moravia, Upper and Lower Lusatia, Austria beyond the Ems, and Hungary (with Bethlehem Gabor), and delivered to the Duke the six documents of allegiance. They swore to accept none other as king than the Emperor Ferdinand. They then entreated Maximilian to intercede with the Emperor and to obtain mercy for them. The Duke not only promised, but even assured them of pardon. Having secured quiet

and good order in the city, and receiving the news that Charles prince of Lichtenstein had been nominated governor of the kingdom, he resigned the garrison of Prague, which consisted of 60,000 infantry and 1500 cavalry, to Tilly. He then returned in triumph to Bavaria, and conveyed with him to Munich several waggons laden with plunder."

The Book of Persecutions gives the following account of the troubles that succeeded :—

" After the surrender of Prague, the soldiers obtained permission to plunder the houses of the great and the rich citizens. They nevertheless allowed days to intervene, and pillage was mostly done in the night, when much treachery was practised, the soldiers being led on by persons in disguise. The enemies themselves boasted of having in this way obtained several millions from the Evangelicals. Nor is this improbable, since all the riches, valuables and moveables, from the whole realm, were brought into Prague during the war, as the place of greatest security ; and no one could foretel what rod God had prepared for our backs. This great spoil within the walls of Prague fell only to the lot of the first enemies, the surrounding country supplied the rapacity of the rest. There German, Italian, Spanish, French, Polish, and Croatian soldiers raged at pleasure, and plundered villages, cities, churches and palaces, burning the houses, and murdering the people.*

* When Buquoy was requested to put a stop to the destructive conflagrations, he ordered three villages to be set on fire, by way of an answer. See " Deductions-schrift," p. 345. The Duke of Bavaria was indeed willing to prevent plundering ; but who does not know how things go on in such cases ?

" Soon afterwards commissaries were sent who promised security to the cities and nobility, if they would swear allegiance to the Emperor; provided, under pretence of its being merely a loan, that the several barons, knights, and communities, even the clergy also, should collect a large sum for the payment of salaries. Whoever should prove ready and liberal, to him the Emperor's kindness was promised, the others were threatened with military discipline and plunder. Not satisfied with that which any one offered on his own account, according to his ability, they bargained, as at a sale, for a certain sum. They also promised to remove the soldiers after paying them their arrears; thus inducing various individuals to pay their share the sooner, and that even in uncoined silver and ornaments.

" Other commissaries were then sent, who demanded of the nobility a contribution in coin for maintaining a garrison in the country, while the greater portion of the army was led to Moravia and Hungary; as well as to erect corn stores in certain cities, which was productive of great trouble and expense. From day to day the vain prospect of removing the soldiery was held out to the people; but, instead of this, new levyings were made from time to time, and contributions impossible to be raised were demanded, even in places where the people had been forced to apostatize from their religion. When some, who had been enticed to the denial of the truth by allurements of exemption from contributions and quartering of soldiers, complained that those promises had not been kept, the Jesuits replied, that they ought not to be surprised

at it, since these proceedings were intended for their benefit; maintaining, that with heretics they must deal as with children or madmen, who, if any one should wish to wrest a knife or a sword from their hands, must shew and promise them something else, though it be not really intended to be given them. They ought, therefore, to be glad that their souls were saved, and the more readily assist the Emperor from gratitude, by bringing together contributions and maintaining the troops."

The same language is used in a letter from Prague, dated the 8th of April, 1625,* from which it appears that the simile of 'taking up the knife' was well known at that time.

Besides these grievous circumstances, there were added inconvenience and loss arising from base coin; for the Emperor, having deprived the country of its silver and gold, coined copper washed with silver, and that in such abundance, and of so many kinds, that the poor people, who were ignorant of the deception, thought themselves to be in great prosperity. But at the same time the soldiers extorted from them all the *good* money, and would accept none other. Gold and silver in consequence rose tenfold in value, so that an ordinary imperial dollar was paid with ten, and the Hungarian ducat with eighteen florins. Afterwards in (1624) the Emperor suddenly reduced the value of money to the tenth part of its former worth; whereby the distress of the people became insufferable. Paul Michna, the inventor of this consummate artifice, is said to have boasted that in this way the wealth of Bohemia had been more quickly reduced than by a ten years'

* Söltl's Curiosities of the religious war.

quartering of soldiers upon it. Nay, competent judges have given it as their opinion, that in the way mentioned more injury was done than if the half of Bohemia had been destroyed by fire. When all the money had finally been extorted from the people, a regulation was introduced for determining the validity of debts, according to which creditors lost all claims to what they had lent during the time of the rebellion; but of what they had lent before that time, only the interest and a part of the capital was sacrificed, which latter needed not be paid in ten years."

In order to give a just representation of the sufferings of the Bohemian Protestants, we insert the following account from Pelzel:—

"The city was indeed saved from a formal sacking; but various excesses were practised against the inhabitants, who were all considered heretics. The Spanish and Low Country soldiers ransacked the libraries of the citizens, doubtless at the instigation of the Roman clergy, and selecting all the Bohemian books, burned many thousands of them in the public places,* without any one examining whether or not they really deserved to be committed to the flames. In that tumult the whole edition of Dalimil's chronicles, with the exception of three copies, was burnt. But when soon after Prince Lichtenstein arrived in Prague, as governor of Bohemia, more peace and security was enjoyed in the city.

"We may easily imagine the joy occasioned to the Emperor by his having conquered† and humbled

* Hence the scarcity of old Bohemian books.

† His desire was to exercise over them an absolute monarchy. He built a chapel upon the White-hill, dedicated to the Virgin

the Bohemians. His first care was to order his governor, Charles prince of Lichtenstein, to recall, with every mark of honour, the order of Jesuits, who had been driven out of Bohemia. And during the time of quiet and security, Lohelius the archbishop, who had been expelled, Questenberg of Strahow, and other prelates and clergymen of various orders returned to Prague. But destruction raged in the country. A band of Cossack and Polish soldiers, who had served in the imperial army, had been dismissed after the battle upon the White-hill; but instead of returning home, they divided themselves into several bands in the districts of Koninggräz, Chrudin and Chaslow, and plundered the country, under the pretence of not having been sufficiently paid for the important services which they had rendered. There being none to resist them, they fell upon the open places, and robbed and tormented the inhabitants; causing several thousand families to hide themselves in the woods and upon high mountains, with their cattle and property, where most of them lost their lives through hunger and cold. Afterwards these bands removed to Moravia; where they received their due reward, by the inhabitants unitedly falling upon, and so pursuing them, that very few reached their own country; and thus the eastern part of Bohemia was again restored to some degree of tranquillity.

"But the western part was still exposed to all the horrors of war; for Mansfeld, having retained some

Mary, in the foundation of which a golden medal of victory was deposited, which may yet be seen in Prague. That chapel the Emperor Joseph ordered to be pulled down.

troops, held possession of the cities of Tabor, Pilsen, Elbogen, and a few castles. From these he sallied forth, and wasted the estates of such of the land proprietors as had forsaken Frederic and surrendered themselves to Ferdinand. Count Buquoy, in marching with the greatest part of the imperial troops to Hungary, destroyed at Czaslau the tombstone of John Ziska. Prince Lichtenstein had no more troops left with him than were requisite to keep the city in subjection: so that he dared not venture to march against Mansfeld. For the attempt he had already made at Tabor had failed. Mansfeld was a bold and cunning general, but also rapacious after money; they therefore sought to induce him, by a large sum, to quit Bohemia. He pretended to accept the proposal, and a cessation of arms was obtained."

Having thus given the relation, by a papal writer, of the circumstances of those times, which are by no means so well known as they deserve to be, on account of the prevalent ignorance of the particular history of Bohemia, we shall now give some extracts as related by Protestants:—

The author of the Book of Persecutions says:— "The conqueror made indeed fair promises, but only kept them as might have been expected, after the experience made in the instance of the Council of Constance. The prospect of the Bohemian church began to be very gloomy; for now commenced that violent persecution which was the prelude to the destruction of the Evangelicals. They adopted a different method here from that which they had before pursued in England, Holland, and France.

A show of milder proceedings bid fair to become more successful than the former raging against the faithful with fire, sword, and the rack. Rome, seeing the impolicy of entering upon a new scheme, no longer alienating the minds of others from themselves by cruelty, assumed the appearance of flattery. The secret measures deliberated upon at Rome during the warlike preparations in 1617 were now in reality carried into effect. It was then the question, how the Bohemians, and also the Germans, should be treated, if the former were conquered; and they came to the resolution,—that experience having proved the strong purging medicines hitherto applied to the disease of heresy had little effect; they would now try whether a suitable diet might not cure them. The heretics, they concluded, ought not to be condemned to death; which they welcomed as martyrdom: but they must be made to yield, and be brought to obedience by other means. The odious name of Inquisition, they thought, should no longer be used, but the milder name of *Reformation* must be adopted.

"Agreeably to this resolution they treated the Bohemians, Moravians, and Silesians in such a manner, that those who confessed the pure doctrine of the gospel, were oppressed and almost exterminated. A few only became martyrs. Don Martin of Huerda, a native of Spain, originally a tailor, who had passed his youth in Bohemia, and for some military exploits had been knighted after his elopement with the Countess Serinia Kolowrat, by whom he attained great riches, had indeed boasted that on his arrival at Vienna to announce the victory, he advised the Emperor to massacre all

without distinction, so that no trace might be left of that refractory and heretical nation; but the Emperor answered, that the Duke of Bavaria had already held out hopes of pardon to them; yet means should be adopted for conquering the heresy and the spirit of rebellion in that dissolute people. The result and experience proved what measures had been intended; and of these we shall endeavour now to give a brief but conclusive account."

Those eye-witnesses and exiled sufferers, to whose account we have referred, thus continue:—

"For were all the cunning delusions and deceptions which were adopted to be described, it would have required more gift of penetration than *our* people can commonly boast of uniting with their dovelike simplicity, (this they say with respect to the before-mentioned Spaniards and foreign Jesuits); and we should have to write more voluminously than the time present will allow. For, as the Evangelist says, 'if all the things which Jesus did were to be written every one, the world itself would hardly contain the books;'—the same may be said of Antichrist, that his evil deeds were connected with so much craft and malice, that the world could hardly contain them. We take God to witness, that in all we have collected and stated, we have given nothing but that which is perfectly authentic; though we could not sufficiently illustrate every case by examples, partly because we must be brief, and partly because, under the distraction which still prevails, we are unable to collect every incident."

The clergyman Jacobeus gives the following account of the year 1620:—

"Though at this period the gospel flourished at Prague, it was at the same time in a very deplorable state in other parts of Bohemia. The imperial troops burned churches and schools, cities and villages, and imprisoned the clergy and schoolmasters. Nothing else was heard but the dolorous outcry,—'the soldiers are coming—the enemy is arrived!' The country once so flourishing, was now approaching its ruin. On the unhappy, painful, and deplorable day,—that day so destructive, not only to the ministers of the church, but also to the whole realm of Bohemia, in November, 1620, the Bohemian army was forced to yield to the imperial troops in the battle of the White-hill. Prague, deprived of its king and its officers, opened its gates to the conqueror, laid down its arms, and kindly entreated its victors, under promise of mercy; but the result shews how those who held the opinion, that faith need not be kept with heretics, fulfilled their engagements.*

"Several hundred houses were broken into during night by the rapacious soldiers, and plundered by persons in disguise. O, to what torments many honest promoters of the gospel were exposed! how were they tortured and massacred! How many virgins were violated to death; how many respectable women abused; how many children torn from their mothers' breasts, and cut in pieces in their

* Compare the expressions of a letter from Prague of 1625:—"To keep faith towards heretics is to deny the Catholic faith, and to aid the poor deluded world in running with speed to the devil. The Catholics were fools to have hitherto kept their promises to the Evangelicals and Calvinists." See Sölti's Curiosities, p. 255.

presence; how many were mutilated; how many dragged out naked from their beds, and thrown from the windows!"

And again he breaks forth in the following ejaculation:—"Good God! what cries of woe we were forced to hear from those who lay upon the rack, and what groans and terrible outcries from those who besought the robbers to spare them for God's sake! How were we everywhere hindered in our church services! The innocent blood which was shed still cries, waiting for the vengeance of a righteous God. Yet, O God, spare our enemies and persecutors, comfort the afflicted, the widowers and the widows, the orphan and the bereaved parents. Grant again joy and blessing to the good and righteous, for thine ever praiseworthy name's sake!"

The return, already mentioned, of the clergy to the cathedral, is thus related by Dean Pessina:—

"When the canons had returned, they for a time performed divine service in the neighbouring royal chapel of All Saints, because the cathedral at St. Veit had been profaned by the innovators with their Calvinism. This took place for the first time on the morning of the first Advent Sunday, by a solemn mass, with the 'Rorate,' &c. Not long after, there returned to Prague, John Lohelius, archbishop of Prague, the fathers of the Society of Jesus, the Premonstratenses, the Franciscans, and others, who had either been exiled, or on their own account left the country for fear of being entrapped by the heretics. Their presence, and the new initiation to the worship according to the Roman order, had the most salutary influence upon the lives and manners

of a large number of the people. The churches which had served for the use of the non-catholics were restored to their former possessors, and altars, relics, images, and other sacred things, to their former sanctity."

Pessina then gives the following account of the re-consecration of the cathedral, taken from the journal of dean Arsenius. "First, the bells were again arranged and suspended; then two corpses of Calvinists were dug up, and a third, that of Peter Schwamberg, which had been deposited in a side-wall in St. Thomas's chapel, was taken up by the relations and removed to another place; the seats of the Calvinists were also removed. When the temple was thus in some measure cleansed, it was re-consecrated on the first Fast-Sunday, which was the 28th of February, 1621, by the serene and most reverend prince lord John II. (Lohelius,) archbishop of Prague, in the presence of his serene highness prince Charles of Lichtenstein, as governor for his imperial majesty, with many other barons and knights, and so large an assemblage of people that the building could not contain them. After the consecration of the temple, the high-altar at St. Veit was re-consecrated; then followed a solemn Te Deum, with the ringing of the bells and the sound of trumpets and drums, and an immense discharge of cannon from the top of Mount Lorentius. After that joyous hymn was over, the archbishop began a solemn high-mass.

"On the following day the marble tombstones, which were uselessly applied in various ways upon the floor of the cathedral, were removed. The floor

of the church was then levelled and laid out with square plates.

"The church, with the high-altar, being now re-consecrated, they commenced restoring and arranging the rest. The costs were defrayed by the Emperor, out of the revenues of the exchequer, so full of love was he towards the temple and the service of God; and the church received back the estates of which she had been deprived."

Pessina then gives an account of the new consecration of all the altars, specifying the relics deposited in each. With the high-altar he mentions a piece of the cross, of the rope of Christ, of his napkin, of the veil of Mary, of the bones of Stephen, Luke, &c. With another he speaks of some of the hair of Mary, the garment of John, the thorn-bush of Moses; then of the hair of Cecilia, &c. The Emperor himself visited this cathedral on the 11th of April, 1621. He had arrived from Ratisbon, where Frederic, the Elector Palatine, on account of his high-treason, had been deposed from the electorate; which was bestowed upon Duke Maximilian of Bavaria. Soon after arrived a successor to Lohelius, the new archbishop count Ernst Adalbert of Harrach, who now entered upon his office, to the great joy of the canons and the rest of the clergy. When Ferdinand himself visited the cathedral, the prelates and canons welcomed him as usual. He praised them greatly for their fidelity, which they had proved with so much firmness towards God, the church, and himself. To shew how delighted he was, he raised them to noble dignity, and made them counts palatine of the holy Lateran, of

the imperial court, and of the consistory; and bestowed upon them gifts in great profusion.

The re-established canons now laboured with all their power to restore and extend Romanism.

CHAPTER X.

IMPRISONMENT OF THE DIRECTORS AND DEFENDERS —INQUISITIONS—EXECUTION OF THE LEADERS— ORATION TO THEIR MEMORY—OTHER PUNISHMENTS—CONFISCATION OF PROTESTANT ESTATES— TREATMENT OF THE EVANGELICALS IN MORAVIA.

BEFORE we speak of the formal anti-reformation, through the instrumentality of the Jesuits and Lichtenstein's dragoons, we shall first take a view of the case of the subdued Protestants. Ferdinand himself desired to act leniently, since experience had taught him that the application of severe measures in matters of religion did not produce the desired effect; and after the battle fair promises of pardon were held out, especially at Iglau by Tiefenbach, to those who should lay down their arms and surrender themselves. And it is true that three months passed without inquisition or any attempt at punishment; excepting that the boldness of some few officers and their soldiers overstepped the usual bounds. Besides the scenes of bloodshed, cruelty and insult of all kinds, already mentioned, which the soldiers were permitted to perpetrate, soon after the capture of Prague, we have particularly to remark, that the evangelical clergy were tormented wherever they fell into their hands, and that their hatred to the Elector Palatine was exhibited in every possible way. Thus, for example, in 1622, a citizen of Prague, named John Libertinus, had his house filled

with soldiers, and was obliged to pay five hundred dollars penalty, merely for naming his new-born son 'Frederic.' The portraitures of the unfortunate king were broken and trampled upon; whoever had any was maltreated; no one was even to think of him.

In consequence of punishment being at first suspended, and of the promises artfully held out by royalty, some of the incautious thought themselves so secure, that even they who had already fled confidently returned to Prague. We must nevertheless acknowledge, that the acts of the opponents of Ferdinand were not likely to remain unpunished, though done with a good intention, and, in their opinion, for the benefit of their country and religion. The outrage on Slawata and Martinitz; the ill-judged choice of a foreign king; their arbitrary (though well-intended) government, testified too loudly against them in the minds of their enemies; and everything else which merited severe punishment and the utter destruction of the Protestants, and chiefly of the heads of that party, must have been most welcome to the Jesuits, as tending to justify their own proceedings. Three months passed, during which every pulse beat either with revenge or fear. But at length, the evening of the mournful 20th of February, 1621, arrived, when the late directors and defenders, all formerly men of importance, and most of them venerable for age, were suddenly seized by order of the governor Lichtenstein, and thrown into prison. There they continued in great anxiety. March and April passed, and no one was able to learn anything of their fate. In the month of May they were visited by some commissaries, whose appearance was the more painful to the

prisoners, because they discovered in them former brethren of the faith, who had lately apostatised. These made many inquiries, and proposed several questions to them. But as they believed they had been guilty of no crime, and thought they had a good cause, none prayed for mercy. Their spirit had not yet been broken. But we shall allow contemporary writers to speak upon this subject. The authors of the Book of Persecutions thus express themselves:—

"The enemies of the gospel, who had attended the school of Phalaris Machiavelli, made the destruction of the principal men their first business. The crime of high-treason was the best pretext they could ever have wished for. Certain hope of pardon after the battle had indeed been held out to all who should lay down their arms and commend themselves to the imperial mercy; but many, and even those who had the opportunity of escaping the danger, were by this artifice enticed into the net. After a while, they seized those whom they had appointed for execution, saying that the universal amnesty could not otherwise be obtained than by the propitiation of single heads.

"First, those of the directors and defenders to whom they could get access, were apprehended; then those of whom it was known, that from love of their country and religion they had done, or were suspected to be yet able to do, something for the common weal. Those only escaped who out of mistrust towards Ferdinand, or from fidelity towards Frederic, willingly accompanied the latter in his flight.

"The prisoners consisted of fifty men, remark-

ably distinguished for love of religion, their prudence, and firmness of mind, who had spent the period of their youth in the arts, in arms, or upon foreign travel, and their subsequent years in attending to the affairs of church and state; they acquainted the careless with their danger, encouraged the considerate, sought unity, and continually gave counsel for the general good; in a word, they were the ornament of their country, and the defence and support of the nation. Their examination and condemnation, and the firmness with which they suffered death for the truth of their religion and the liberty of their country, we shall describe with our usual brevity and faithfulness.

" For more than three months nothing was heard but promises of pardon and grace for past errors: so that many issued from their places of concealment and returned from foreign countries. When they had been sufficiently enticed together, they were suddenly attacked in one and the same hour of the evening, on the 20th of February, 1621, and as many as could be found were seized. Several were unexpectedly visited by the captains of the city or the judges, and conveyed either to the castle of Prague, or to some of the courts of law.

" On the following day summonses were posted up, in which those absent from the kingdom were ordered to appear within six weeks from that time. On the 2nd of April they were summoned by heralds. But as none appeared, their sentence was pronounced on the 5th, that, as guilty of high treason, they had forfeited their estates, their honour, and even their heads. A form of execution took place on the 25th, when their names were affixed

to the gallows. On the following day sentence was pronounced against the heirs of those who had died during the rebellion. In consequence of which their estates passed over to the royal exchequer.

" In May they proceeded to examine those who were imprisoned. The judges and inquisitors, with some of the nobility, importuned the culprits with visits and a thousand frivolous questions, in order to elicit from them something which had never happened. It was on one of these occasions that Count Schlik, impatient at his wearisome examination, opened his vest, and making bare his breast, exclaimed: ' Tear this body in pieces, and examine its inmost parts, and ye shall find nothing but what we have already declared in the apologies. Love of liberty and religion alone have constrained us to draw the sword. But as God has permitted the Emperor's sword to conquer, and to be put in your hands: may His will be done!' Budowa and Otto Losz spoke to the same effect, assuring them that though the cause of the states had not been brought to a successful issue, it had nevertheless not become worse.

" As one month passed after another in this kind of examination, and no one would yield, nor acknowledge a crime, or sue for pardon, they proceeded to the sentence. This was pronounced by some gentlemen selected from the party *sub una*, who were sworn enemies of the Evangelicals. In order that the cruelty might have a show of clemency, the Emperor commanded the sentences passed by those partial judges to be sent to him at Vienna, and he returned them with some mitigations. It has been reported, from an authentic source, that

the Emperor continued in deep reflection, and passed a night without sleep on this occasion. In the morning, he is said to have sent for his confessor, and said, " I adjure you, by your conscience, to tell me, whether I may, without violation of my duty, grant the lives of those condemned men, or consign them to the executioner?" His confessor is said to have replied: " Both are in the power of your imperial majesty." Then the Emperor took a pen, and granting some their lives, to others he awarded a less ignominious punishment than the sentences expressed.

" On the 19th of June the judges assembled in the judgment-hall, and as the prisoners were brought in one by one, they pronounced upon each the sentence of condemnation: to some *death;* to others *imprisonment for life;* to others *banishment;* but some were referred to the Emperor's further decision. The particulars are as follows: Lobkowitz and Paul Rziczan had indeed forfeited their heads, but through the clemency of the Emperor, they were only condemned to incarceration for life.* Their estates and those of the rest fell to the exchequer. Joachim Andreas Schlik, count of Passau, was first to have had his right hand cut off, and then his body to have been quartered, and hanged by the cross-road; but by special clemency he was now only to be beheaded, and his head and hand

* Lobkowitz's prison is still exhibited in the castle of Zbirow, on the road between Prague and Pilzen. It only measures a few square ells. Alas, how intolerable this must have been to such a spirit as his! In the Saxon state archives there are extant letters from Lobkowitz, Rziczan, Bila, Budowa, and Michalowitz, to the Elector of Saxony, praying him to intercede for them. See Muller, p. 462.

to be put in an iron casement of lattice-work, upon the tower of Prague bridge. Wenzel Budowa was also consigned to a similar punishment. Christopher Harant Polcitz was condemned to die by the sword.

" Gaspar Kaplirz Sulewitz, it was said, had certainly committed great crimes; but out of respect for his age (which was near 90 years), he was only to be beheaded, and not quartered, but his head was to be exhibited with the rest. The like punishment was announced to Procopius Dworzezky, Bohuslaw Michalowitz, Frederic Bila and Henry Otto Losz; although (as they said), according to strict judgment, they deserved to be quartered. John Wostrowez was condemned to imprisonment for life. The like sentence was passed upon Wenzel Felix Pelipesky, who, unhappy man! soon after purchased his liberty by a disgraceful apostacy.

" Dionysius Czernin Chudenitz was to have two fingers cut off, and then his head; but the first part of the sentence was remitted. Wolfgang Hoslauer ought to be punished with banishment for life; but by the Emperor's clemency, he was sent to the fortress of Raab for a year. These were the sentences passed upon the nobility and barons.

" John Theodor Sixt Ottersdorf, M. Valentine Kochan, Tobias Steffek, and Christopher Kober, respectable citizens of Prague, were to be beheaded. John Schultis of Kuttenberg, Maximilian Hostialek Saaz, both chief burgomasters, were condemned to the same punishment, but their heads were to be exhibited in the market upon poles.

" John Jessenius, physician and professor at the university of Prague, because of his having been ambassador to Hungary, was to have had his

tongue cut out, his body quartered, and then his head and limbs exposed near a cross-way. But 'through the tenderness of the king, after having his tongue cut out, he shall first be beheaded, and then quartered.' John Kutnaur, Simon Sussiz, and Nathanael Wodnian, senators of Prague, are to die upon the gallows. Melchior Teyprecht, advocate, George Zawieta (Zawietitz), secretaries; Paul Perczka, depositary in the register office, were to be incarcerated for life. Wenzel Gisbize, citizen of Prague, was condemned to die by the sword. George Hauenschild, and Leander Rüppel, both German doctors of law, and agents of German princes, were to lose hand and head. Nicholas Dionysius, senator at Prague, was to have been deprived of his tongue, but, as a merciful mitigation of his punishment, it was only to be nailed to the gallows for one hour; and then he was to quit the country. Wenzel Bozek, senator, John Swehlam (or Swehla), and Joseph Kubin, advocate, were to be scourged, and then banished. Matthias Borbonius, physician, was to have been beheaded; by the Emperor's gracious kindness he was only to be imprisoned.

"Gaspar Uslar, and Henry Kozel, senators of the new-town of Prague, were to have been hanged through the windows of the town-hall; but the imperial clemency appointed the one merely to incarceration, the other to the sword. Elias Rosinus, the elder, and Luke Karban, had been doomed to be beheaded; nevertheless life was granted to both; the one being imprisoned, and the other banished. Andreas Kozauer, George Rzeciez, Michael Wittmann and Simeon Wokarz, were to be punished by the sword. John Kamarit, by special

mercy, was banished from the country for one year. Regarding other citizens, as Abraham Angel, John Pelhrzimowsky, and others, the Emperor reserved to himself their further sentence."

Their estates were to be confiscated, and the marriage-portion was restored only to a few of their wives. Leander Rüppel and George Hauenschild were condemned to death by a supplementary written sentence, which upon a sudden they received in their dungeon.

We are informed by Pelzel that Tilly had a few days before advised them to leave the city and seek refuge; but, relying upon the promise of the Elector of Bavaria, and the pretended clemency of the Emperor, they neglected his counsel. Thus they were seized in the night and confined. A few, as Count Schlik and Harant Polcitz, were brought in later. The first of these had fled to Lusatia, and then into Voigtland; but the Elector of Saxony, induced by Dr. Hoe, made him prisoner, and sent him to Prague.

"On the 17th of June, 1621, to keep the people in order, seven squadrons of Saxon cavalry marched into Prague, where they were quartered in the three cities, viz. the old and new towns, and the Kleinseite. On the 18th a platform, four ells high, twenty-two paces long and wide, was erected by the town-hall of the old-town. On the 19th, thirteen prisoners from the new, and ten from the old town, were conveyed to the castle under a strong escort; the rest, who were of the nobility and knighthood, were also led from the White-tower to the appointed place, where they received sentence, as already related. They were then led back to prison, where they were

now permitted to receive visits from their wives, children, and friends, and allowed clergymen from their own persuasion. On the morning of the 20th a number of women and children, and relatives of the condemned, appeared at the residence of the Prince, making great lamentation, weeping, and craving mercy for their husbands and fathers: but they were sent away with a refusal. Towards evening, the platform erected at the town-hall of the old-town was covered with black cloth; and the prisoners, both of the White-tower, and the prison of the new-town, were conveyed to the town-hall. About three o'clock in the morning of the 21st of June, a gun was discharged from the castle as a signal for the execution; the gates of the city and bridge were closed, and all the streets about the market of the old-town were occupied by the troops. Then the imperial judges, the commissioners, and the whole magistracy, took their seats upon the platform; and the execution of the sentence took place, accompanied by the beating of drums."

We are certain of gaining the sympathy of our readers by relating at length an account of the last hours of these unhappy sufferers; for which we are especially indebted to Pelzel,* and the Book of Persecutions.

It was announced to the condemned that their execution should take place on the 21st of June; that every one might look to his own soul, and have either a Jesuit, a Capuchin monk, or a clergyman of the Augsburg confession, to prepare them for death. But no one was to expect a clergyman of the "Bohemian Brethren." Such an one was on no

* In his "biography of the learned of Bohemia."

account to be admitted. This affected about half the number of the condemned, and was very painful to them, and was done, either from the old hatred against that party, or in order to delude the Elector of Saxony and the Lutherans into a belief that the Emperor was less hostile to their religion.

Large numbers of the Jesuits and Capuchins, now presented themselves, and, uncalled for, greatly harassed the condemned by their dissimulating attempts to make them embrace their religion, under the pretence that their lives might yet be spared. But as they remained immoveable, these priests called heaven and earth to witness, that they were clear of the eternal damnation of those who so obstinately rejected the grace of God.

The majority of the prisoners were attended by the evangelical minister of St. Nicholas in the Kleinseite, Rosacius (John Rosak-Horschowsky) by name. Lady Pruskowsky, a relative of the condemned Kaplirz, and herself a zealous Catholic, sent word to Rosacius that Lichtenstein had granted his attendance. While dressing himself, requests came likewise from others. But it was impossible that he could attend all. He devoted that evening to Kaplirz, and the others received the promise of a visit the next day. It was the attendant of Rosacius who noted down the last sayings of those devoted men. While Rosacius consoled and exhorted those in the castle, other evangelical ministers were with the rest: in the town-hall of the old-town were Victorinus Werbenius and Veit Jaksch, and in the town-hall of the new-town Adam Clement and John Hertwiz. Three of the condemned were Germans, namely, Jessenius, Hauenschild, and Rüppel, who

were attended by David Lippach, in whose presence the Jesuits held a long disputation with Jessenius. Those ministers remained with them in conversation, prayers, hymns, and the receiving of the Lord's supper, during Sunday and Monday, until the hour of execution. Those who belonged to the Bohemian Brethren and the Reformed received likewise the above-mentioned ministers, assuring them that they considered them brethren and christian messengers, though alas! they differed from them in some articles which had become matters of dispute. Budowa and Otto Losz, though they enjoyed the conversation of Rosacius, did not partake of the communion.

On the Sunday, those confined in the town-hall had a very remarkable communion. M. Werbenius was with them holding religious conservation when the inspector came in and reminded them that it was meal-time. They looked at each other, and assured him they desired no earthly food. Nevertheless, their bodies required some refreshment, and arrangements were accordingly made. One laid the cloth, another the plates, a third brought water to wash, a fourth said grace, and a fifth observed, that this was their last meal upon earth, and the next morning they should partake of the supper with Christ in heaven. This being misconstrued by the Romish prefect of the town-hall, when he went out to his people, he ironically exclaimed: "they think that Christ keeps cooks for them in heaven!" When this was repeated, Veit Jaksch, a clergyman, observed, "that Jesus too had a troublesome spectator at his supper, Judas Iscariot." In the meantime it was announced, that the barons and noblemen were being conveyed from the castle

to the town-hall, where the stage of blood had been erected. In order to receive them, they ran to the windows, and singing the 44th Psalm, saluted them aloud. But the people sighed and wept.

The whole night was spent in religious hymns, prayer, pious conversation, and mutual consolation. They exhorted one another to firmness, to overcome the world with courage, and to give their posterity an example of faithfulness. Having sung the 86th Psalm, John Kutnauer repeated the last verse, "Shew me a token for good." They indeed desired that God might on the next day give them some wonderful token in their favour; but Werbenius exhorted them to be satisfied with having so much to sweeten their death. On Sunday, Lippach from the pulpit exhorted the people to pray for the unfortunate prisoners. All wept. In the afternoon service Jessenius, Rüppel, and Hauenschild, requested the forgiveness of all if they had ever offended any.

"Towards the dawn of the morning they washed themselves, and changed their clothes, as though they were going to a wedding, and so well arranged their knightly dresses, even to the frills, that there was nothing left to be done upon the scaffold in this respect. But Kutnauer still continued to pray God that he would shew a sign to attest their innocence; and it tended to their consolation, when they perceived through the windows of the prison, a splendid rainbow, at which all the people gazed with amazement. Then they lifted up their hands in prayer, and thanked God upon their knees, being also reminded by Werbenius of many expressions in the Bible having reference to the rainbow. After it

had disappeared, the discharge of a gun, the signa for execution, was heard, and the clergymen walked to and fro comforting and encouraging the sufferers. A few squadrons of cavalry and several companies of infantry then appeared, and formed a circle round the mournful scaffold, upon which the imperial judges and counsellors took their seats; Lichtenstein having a canopy over him. The market, and streets, and houses were filled with spectators.

The condemned were then called up one after the other, and courageously endured the stroke of death. Rosacius, who was present, noted down their words. They made their appearance in such a lively manner, as if they had been going to a feast, and spoke with more animation than can be described, to the following effect, one to another:—'Adieu, my dear friends; may God give you the consolation of his Spirit, patience and firmness, that you may persevere in that which you have hitherto acknowledged with your heart, mouth, and hand. I go before you to behold the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. Follow me, that we may together behold the Father's face. The grief of this hour will pass, but the joy of heaven shall endure for ever.' Others spoke to the following effect:—'May God help thy departure, and grant thee a happy passage from this vale of tears into the heavenly country! May the Lord Jesus send his holy angels to meet thee! Hasten before us, dear brother, into the house of our Father; we follow thee. We shall soon meet in heavenly glory; of this we are assured by Him in whom we have believed.'

"Led by the clergymen from the court of the town-hall to the bloody stage, they commended their

spirits to the hand of God, and spoke the above words with great presence of mind and true animation, so that even the judges and guards were greatly affected. Whenever one of the clergymen pronounced a sentence from the Bible, they immediately joined in it, conversing together in the language of Scripture; and had not the noise of the drums and trumpets interfered, none could have refrained from shedding tears. When the clergymen returned from the scaffold, and related with what firmness another had suffered death, the rest praised God, and prayed that He might grant them the like courage.

The first that died was Joachim Andreas Schlik, Count of Passau and Ellbogen, chief-justice under Frederic; he was also administrator of Upper Lusatia, and had been chosen one of the directors. He was now fifty years old; descended from an ancient and illustrious family; spirited, virtuous, and heroic, he was also modest, pious, active, and peaceful. After the conquest by Ferdinand, he first fled to his relatives in Friedland, and thence to Saxony, where, having been discovered, the Elector thought it his duty to deliver him up, although in his youth Schlik had done him great services, and had even afterwards proposed him for the crown of Bohemia. After the sentence of death (especially when he had been informed that he was to be quartered, and his limbs exposed at a cross-road), his discourse manifested great firmness of mind. When the clock struck five, and the discharge of the gun from the castle was heard, Schlik said (as Harant informed the clergyman Honezchlumsky), "That is the signal, I must go

first. But thou, O Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me!" At the same time the imperial officers entered and announced that the hour of execution had arrived, and that they should hold themselves ready when they should be called. Then came the city officers and called Schlik, who unbound, dressed in black silk, and with a prayer book in his hand, was led by four German clergymen.* As he descended the stairs, there stood two German Jesuits, one of whom, P. Sedetius, said, "My lord count, consider well." But he immediately replied: "Leave me alone!" When he had reached the scaffold, and beheld the sun, he said: "Sun of righteousness, Jesus Christ, grant that I may come to thy light through the shadow of death." He then walked to and fro, pensively, but with so much dignity and firmness that even the judges could not refrain from tears. After having prayed, and stripped himself, with the assistance of his page, he knelt down upon a black cloth spread out for the purpose, and received the deadly stroke of the sword. Then his right hand was cut off, which was put upon a lance, and his head upon another, to be set up on the bridge-tower. His body, without being touched by the executioner, was carried from the stage by six men in black masks, as was also done with the others who were put to death by the sword. After each execution a new cloth was spread, so

* But in Khevenhiller, ix. 1309, it is stated that he was without clergymen, that he venerated the crucifix, and that he became almost a papist; wherefore he had written upon a slip of paper, Acts xxvi. 28., and that he had also sent his son a ring by his daughter.

that no one could see the blood of him who had preceded.

The author of the "Account of the confinement, preparation, &c." also states: — "At midnight the clergyman arose, and taking me and his son, with a soldier of the watch, which was stationed in the market-place, and a foreign clergyman, we proceeded to the town-hall, where those gentlemen were confined in separate prisons under a strong guard. When arrived there, we first went into the chamber in which sat Schlik, Budowa, Harant, Bila, and Konezchlumsky. After the clergyman had greeted and consoled them from the word of God, we went to the place of confinement of the gentlemen of the knighthood, Kaplirz, Dworschesky, Losz, and Michalowitz; and then to the prison of the ex-directors. All these he likewise consoled, and joined with them in singing Christian hymns. In the mean time there was prayer and singing in all the chambers. After the minister had ended his discourse to the gentlemen of the knighthood, he attended to a call from the lords, leaving another minister with the citizens. They drew great consolation from a discourse upon John xiv. 13. The minister said to Count Schlik: 'May God Almighty comfort and strengthen your grace by his Holy Spirit.' He thanked him, and said: 'I sought to protect pure religion; I shall be firm and look forward for a different sentence from God.' There were German ministers also with him, who, as he said, could tell more of his firmness." The same author expresses his indignation against the insinuation that the Count was intoxicated, because he

was so heroic and dressed himself so quickly. In this, says he, all of them are wronged, for none of them took a drop of wine besides that of the communion. It is true that towards morning a half pint of wine was brought, but that was the very wine appointed for the communion. An hour afterwards Schlik said: "This still pains me that they deal so with us; if they would but leave my hands to the body!" On this the Lord Weiss observed: "Ay, my lord count, have you not thought yourself the most courageous?—prove your heroism! If they cut us in pieces we shall not feel it; and if they throw about or hang up our limbs, our Saviour can again gather and glorify them." To the words of Schlik, "How thirsty I am!"—the others observed: "There is wine left from the communion, refresh yourself with it — finish it." The Count replied: "What I have taken, may that be my last here; I will only look forward to a cup of heavenly joy!"

The next who was led forth for execution was the eloquent baron Wenzel Budowecz of Budowa. He is described as "a man of matchless talents, distinguished for his learning, and famous as an author, likewise of a burning zeal and a venerable age. He had been one of the counsellors under the Emperor Rudolph, and among the defenders under Matthias; one of the directors with the states, and president of the court of appeals under Frederic. He was an ornament of his country, and a shining light in the church; more a father than the lord of his subjects; in a word, a chief, dear both to God and to men." Thus he is eulogised by a Protestant writer; but the

Romanist Pelzel, in his "Picture of Bohemian learned men," thus likewise speaks of him :—

"This noble and learned man was descended from an ancient family in Bohemia. He was born in Prague in the year 1547. After having laid a good foundation in science at home, he went, in the eighteenth year of his age, to foreign countries, there to enlarge his knowledge. He spent some time in Paris, and then travelled through England, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. During these travels he visited nearly all the European courts, and passed a considerable time at the most renowned universities, making acquaintance with the learned, and in their company improving his mind. After spending twelve years in this manner, he returned to Bohemia in 1577. On his arrival a proposal was made to him to accompany Joachim Zinzendorf, the ambassador of Rudolph II., to Constantinople. This was a welcome proposition for Budowa, as he had long wished to visit the countries of the east. Accordingly, in the year 1578, they reached Constantinople. Budowa's intention was to proceed from thence to Persia, Palestine, and Egypt. He was however obliged to relinquish his plan; but he assiduously employed his leisure time in the acquisition of the Arabic and Turkish languages, and made his observations upon the customs and manners, but chiefly upon the religion of the Turks. He likewise studied the Korân of Mahomet, and had various conversations upon it with some respectable renegades. He pointed out to them the falsehood of that book, and some were brought back to the Christian religion. He subsequently wrote a work

in the Bohemian language, entitled, Anti-Alcorân; and after a stay of four years he returned to Prague. The Emperor Rudolph rewarded him for his services by raising him to the dignity of court-counsellor. He afterwards became counsellor to the court of appeals, and chief tax collector in the kingdom. Upon the death of his father, he succeeded to the estates of Münchedgräz, Zasadcza, Sezyma, and Koczniowicz, and married Ann of Wartenberg.

"While peace subsisted in Bohemia, he chiefly passed his time upon his estates in pleasant and learned occupations. His zeal to promulgate his religious system, which was that of the Bohemian Brethren, induced him to ascend the pulpit himself every Sunday, and preach to the people. Joining much learning to his eloquence, he arrived at his purpose with little pains. But soon after a larger field was opened to him, where he could display his talents to great advantage. When the Archduke Matthias sought to persuade the Emperor Rudolph to resign the crown of Bohemia to him, Budowa took part with the former, and drew most of the states after him. In all consultations he was the chief speaker, especially when any question involved the state of religion. He commenced each meeting with prayer; then gave out a hymn, which having been sung, was followed by a powerful address. In the same manner he concluded the assemblies. All this Budowa did with so much effect and edification, that the hearers were often moved even to tears.

"He was one of the old cast of the serious, reflecting, and inflexible Bohemians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. When advised in

the prison to crave the clemency of the offended Emperor Ferdinand II., he answered; 'I will rather die than see the ruin of my country.' *Budowa was the last Bohemian*, as Brutus was the last Roman. In 1609 he published an historical account of the diet, relating to religion; he was likewise one of the authors of the Apologies set forth by the Bohemian States."

On the downfall of Frederic, he conveyed his family to his estates, and then returned to Prague, where he was immediately made prisoner in his own house; but the house had been so thoroughly plundered that he retained nothing but the clothes he then wore. "So it is," sighed he; "the Lord gave it, and the Lord hath taken it!" Soon after, Paul Aretin, the secretary of the justiciary court, came to him, and asking him why he had again exposed himself to the inclemency of the weather, when he had gained shelter; he replied: "My heart impelled me;—to forsake my country and the good cause was against my conscience. I know not the counsel of God;—all is, perhaps, to be sealed with my blood." Then he arose and said: "My God, here am I, do with thy servant as it seems right in thy sight! I have enough of life, take my spirit from me, that I may not see the misery which will now befall my country." One day the same gentleman came to him and told him that a report had been spread, of his having died of grief. To this he said, smilingly: "I? I have hardly ever had more joyful hours than at present. See my paradise! (pointing to the Bible in his hand) it has never offered me such sweet heavenly food as now. I am yet alive, and shall live as long as it

pleases God; and I hope no one will live to see the day, when it may be said, Budowa died of grief." When examined before the officers of the inquisition he seriously defended (as he believed) the good cause, and after the sentence was passed, he said to the judges: "Ye have long thirsted after our blood; now you may have it! But know also that the judgment of God, for whose cause we suffer, will not be withheld for the sake of the innocent blood which is to be shed." Three days before his sentence he dreamt that he was walking in pleasant meadows, and that being concerned about its meaning, one came and handed him a book with silken leaves white as snow, in which there was nothing more than the passage from Ps. xxxvii. 5. In pondering over the matter, there came another with a white garment and put it upon him. This the venerable man told his servant Zidnowsky when he awoke; and when on the scaffold, he again said to him: "Now I wear the garment of righteousness. Thus I shall shine before God in whom I have trusted."

At a time when an evangelical minister was with the other prisoners, Budowa, to whom a minister of the Bohemian Brethren had been denied, requested him to come and see him. He afterwards cordially thanked him for his visit; for he was very anxious to have witnesses to his constancy in his religion, especially as it was said that he had sent for the Capuchins. The cause of this report he thus related: —"I must tell you that two Capuchins came to me yesterday evening. I was astonished and amazed at their boldness, as I could guess their purpose. I arose and spoke to them. But as they did not

understand the Bohemian, I began to speak in Latin. They stated that they had come out of compassion. I said: How is that? 'We desire to shew you the way to heaven,' they replied. But I assured them that I knew it already, and had firm footing. They said: 'My lord is mistaken, in that he thinks to know the way of salvation; for as he is not incorporated with holy church, he can have no part in it; there being no salvation without the pale of the church.' To this I rejoined, that it was not out of mere madness that I said I knew the way to heaven; but from a hearty belief in my dear Saviour Jesus Christ I said it. I have the excellent promise: *He that believeth on him* shall not perish, but have everlasting life. Therefore I want to remain in *our* true church until my death. But they smote upon their breasts and said, that they had never met with such an obdurate heretic, and went away crossing themselves."

There were also two Jesuits who went about the whole night in the town-hall from one to another of the prisoners. Sent back by some, they came to Budowa, and accosted him in Latin. "We know," said they, "that my lord is well versed in the sciences: but we would like also to gain his soul to salvation, and thereby perform an act of mercy." "Dear fathers," replied he, "will you help *my* soul to salvation? I wish your souls were as certain as I am, through Jesus Christ." To this one of them said: "My lord had better not boast too much of his salvation, lest he be led away by his vain imagination; for the scripture says, (but they did not know where, thinking the words were in Paul's epistle to Timothy) that no one in this life knows whether he

lives in the grace of God, or in wrath." But Budowa referred to the words of Paul: "I know whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day, and that there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." Here the Jesuit interrupted him and said: "*That* the apostle Paul says concerning himself, but not concerning others." But Budowa immediately resumed: "That is not true; for does he not immediately add: 'Not for me only, but for all them also who love his appearing?' Therefore go, and leave me in peace!"

When he was called, he stepped upon the scaffold, and stroked his white locks and long beard in a state of extasy, saying, "Soon, my grey beard, wilt thou be brought to glory; for the martyr-crown will decorate thee."

The third victim was Christopher Harant, descended from the ancient and noble family of the Harants of Polzicz and Bezdruzicz. He was born about the year 1560, and received a learned education, having been taught the Latin, Greek, and Italian languages, besides mathematical seiences. He became page to the archduke Ferdinand in the year 1576, with whom he remained for several years, and gained an acquaintance with the Latin and Greek poets, geography and history. On returning to his native country, he married Anna Francisca Schönfeld, and lived with her upon his estate in peace and happiness. When in 1591 the war broke out between the Emperor Rudolph II. and the Turks, Harant left his pleasant abode, took service, and fought in several battles in Hungary, commanding a part of the Bohemian troops. His

valour and services were rewarded by an annual pension of 700 florins. As his wife died soon afterwards, he determined to follow the example of many of his countrymen, by undertaking a journey into Asia. Entrusting his children, a son and a daughter, to the care of Ludmilla Markward, he commenced his travels with Hermann Czernin of Chudenitz. They went first to Italy, and visited the principal cities of Lombardy; then embarked at Venice, and after some danger, and a short stay at Candia and Cyprus, arrived safely in the port of Joppa. But as peace had not been established between the house of Austria and the Ottoman Porte, our travellers were obliged to pass as Poles in the Turkish dominions. In this way, and disguised as pilgrims, Harant and his companions passed everywhere in safety. After having stayed for some time at Jerusalem, and viewed the remarkable places in that city, he went by sea to Egypt. From Cairo his curiosity impelled him to visit Arabia and the desert, as far as Mount Sinai. Upon his return to Cairo, he was attacked by a band of Bedouins, who drew him from his camel, and stripped him stark naked. His companions, Hermann Czernin, and the others, shared the same indignity. Harant had the good fortune, while they pulled off his clothes, to convey a purse containing twenty-four ducats under his foot, and to hide it in the sand, or they would have found great difficulty in returning to Cairo. From thence Harant made a short journey to the pyramids, the artificial canals, and other curiosities. They returned home by way of Venice, and arrived safely at Pilsen in October, 1599. Here they found the imperial court, which had removed from

Prague on account of the plague. Harant had now an opportunity of being presented to Rudolph II., who raised him to the dignity of privy counsellor and chamberlain, on account of his abilities and previous services. After this he married Anna Salomena Hradisztska of Horzowitz, a lady who had a considerable fortune. This enabled him to live an easy life, and to occupy himself with the sciences to which he had been attached from his youth. He wrote several Latin poems, which he distributed among his friends, and assisted those who devoted themselves to erudition. Elias Nysselius, in his Tropæo Christi resurgentis, calls him 'the prop of decaying literature.' At the request of his friends he wrote an account of his travels in Asia, which he afterwards published in his mother tongue. In that work he not only relates the events which befell him and his companions, but gives a minute geographical and historical description of the places through which he passed, and of the origin and antiquities of their inhabitants. This book abundantly shews that Harant was well versed in ancient and modern history, as also in mathematics and zoology, and that he was no common observer.

On the death of Matthias, when he perceived that it was probable the bold undertakings of the Bohemians would tend to the utter destruction of the kingdom, he advised the assembled states to submit to the government of Ferdinand; but he met with no attention. And, as he afterwards confessed in the prison, the want of money prevented him from then leaving Bohemia. On this account he was obliged to accept the service offered him by

the Protestant states in their army; and accordingly he was appointed to bring back the troops which the states had sent as auxiliaries to Silesia. Afterwards Harant remained constantly in Prague, especially when Frederic of the Palatinate nominated him chamberlain, court-counsellor, and finally president of the exchequer. In this last capacity he behaved with the same love of justice towards Romanists as towards Protestants, and paid the pensions of the clergy of both parties with equal precision, and without distinction. After the battle on the White-hill, Harant fled to his estate, whence he was taken by the imperial soldiers and conveyed to Prague, where he was condemned to death.

He was confined in the same prison with Konetzchlumsky, and at their request they obtained permission to partake of the Lord's supper. "When we came to them," relates an attendant of the curate, "Harant conversed with the curate (George Dikatus) in a sad state of mind. 'O,' exclaimed he, 'I am to die, and I know not why? These are the two causes which they have read to me:—First, that I marched among others against Vienna, assisted in the siege, and ordered the windows to be fired at where the Emperor resided: secondly, that I accepted the office of president of the exchequer, though I had previously been engaged by oath.* What regards the first, it was imposed upon and commanded me by the directors, under forfeiture of my honour, life and property, and not upon me only, but also upon others who were forced to join. And that I took upon me the office of presi-

* They believed themselves freed from the oath sworn to Ferdinand because he had not kept his own.

dent: it surely turned out for the benefit of the Roman clergy, whose dues I always ordered to be fully remitted to them, which no one else would have done.'"

Before he was led out for execution, and after he had rid himself of the Jesuits, he requested the presence of Rosacius, and again complained of the wrong done him, yet he desired to leave all in the hands of God. He likewise desired him to deliver the following message to his wife:—That she should remain faithful to the Evangelical religion, that so they might hope to meet again; and to attend his ministry as long as he (Rosacius) should continue in the Kleinseite. That he himself had ample opportunity during his travels to examine various religions, and compare them with the holy Scriptures; but that his only consolation was in the reconciliation wrought out by Christ. He also requested her through him to deal more leniently with her vassals than had before been done—not to increase their service, but rather to diminish taxation and labour. He, thirdly, expressed his hearty desire that she might employ an Evangelical tutor for her children, but by no means a Romanist, and much less a Jesuit. If she did not please him in this he should have to accuse her before God. She was likewise to make her children obedient, and examine them, whether they would serve the house of Austria as faithfully as their grandfather had done during forty years, and be as useful to the emperors as he had himself been from his youth. "Ah, my God," said he, finally, "how many countries have I travelled through, in what dangers have I been! Many a

day was I without a morsel of bread: once I lay covered in the sand; yet God always helped me again. I now must die innocently at home! May God forgive mine enemies!"

When Harant left the room where he had been confined, he prayed by himself:—"In thee, O God, have I trusted from my youth, let me not be ashamed for ever!" Then he prayed with the minister. When on the scaffold, he looked up to heaven and exclaimed: "Lord Jesus Christ, into thy hands I commend my spirit." He then took off his doublet, knelt down, and repeated after the ministers as they prayed with him for consolation and hope. While the stroke was yet delayed, he ejaculated: "Into thy hands, Lord Jesus Christ, I commend my spirit." The executioner, himself an Evangelical, did not strike till the prayer was ended. His wife had his body interred; but she in no way complied with his exhortations and requests. She married one who had apostatized to Romanism, and afterwards joined the Papists with her three sons, Wenzel-Rudolph, John-William, and Leopold, and had them educated by the Jesuits. The first became an Austin Friar, and died as prior in Prague in 1664. The others were soldiers. The youngest ended his life as colonel of the cuirassiers in a duel, because his opponent had reproached him with the execution of his father. Harant's travels, translated by his brother George, were published at Prague in 1608, in the Bohemian language. His son William printed them at Nuremburg in 1678. From the indignation Harant expressed on being condemned, it appears that he was not accessory

to the election of the new king. Upon the whole his conduct differed much from that of Budowa.

The fourth was Gaspar, baron Kaplirz of Sulowitz. He had arrived at the advanced age of 86 years. When the clergyman visited him in the castle of Prague, he said, with tears in his eyes, "Alas, how often have I prayed to God for my dissolution; and now I must die in ignominy! But my death is merely ignominious in the sight of the world—before God it is glorious, in the defence of the truth."*

He acknowledged having lived too worldly a life in his youth; that he had served four emperors, and would leave it with God whether he deserved to die. That in all which had been done, he sought neither glory nor riches, but the liberty of the oppressed evangelical confession. That a writing from the Emperor, which threatened them with destruction, obliged them to act with decision, and resolve on defence; and of rather endangering their own lives, than remaining silent, while they were accused of heresy, and denied liberty of conscience. That they now desired to seal the truth of God by their constancy. "The flesh," said he, "is ready to fail; but I am no longer afraid." Rosacius exhorted him to resign himself to God and repent of his sins; the judgment of his motives he must leave to his own conscience.

Kaplirz then told him, that his relative Budkowa had hinted, that the governor, the Prince Lichtenstein, would be ready to receive a petition from him

* These declarations express their conviction, that the death they suffered was martyrdom; and, keeping in view the means adopted by the execrable Jesuit party to exasperate them to rebellion, every ingenuous mind must sympathize in this conviction.

for mercy, and was not disinclined to change his sentence of death into imprisonment for life. But that he had replied, he did not intend to seek the favour of princes but the favour of God; for otherwise he should condemn himself; and besides he would rather die than live in a dungeon, especially considering the weakness of his body.

Early on the following morning, which was Sunday, Rosacius repaired to the castle, and administered the communion to Kaplirz and other prisoners. They sang edifying hymns, made fervent confession, and took the cup of the Lord in solemn silence. Thus were spent six hours, even the guards who understood the Bohemian language were affected; and the Germans, who merely saw what was done, expressed their hopes of the salvation of the victims. After the benediction had been given, Kaplirz repeated the sentence from Ps. lxxiii. 26, and spoke of his grandchildren, who were likely to suffer want on account of the confiscation of his property, (which was apprehended, though it was really the property of his wife); and hoped that this might by no means induce them to apostatize from the Evangelical faith. He sent a copy of Moller's postil for his grandson Daniel, to be handed over to his mother, in which he wrote some lines with his own hand. Then he begged Rosacius, if possible, to protect his children, to exhort them to the fear of God, and warn them against the Austrian service. He also expressed his apprehension of the difficulties which might befall Rosacius. On the day of execution he complained of want of sleep, but expressed his confidence in the divine mercy through Christ Jesus. When called, he said, "I look forward with longing desire." He

prayed for grace and strength, for on account of old age he could hardly mount the scaffold; being led by his servants with slow steps, he begged permission of the clergyman who walked by his side, to lean upon him while ascending, lest he should fall and be scorned by his enemies. The minister then led him by the hand. Upon the stage he prayed aloud standing, and requested the executioner to strike immediately, he being too weak to kneel. But as Kaplirz held his head too low, he could not comply with his request. When the minister requested him to raise his head, he cried out, "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit:" —his grey head sank and he fell.

The fifth was Procopius Dworschezky of Olbramowitz. After he had received the sentence of death, he said, "If my beheading can do the Emperor any good, let it be so!" The next day he complained of a restless night, but indicated that his warfare was over, that the Emperor could kill the body, not the soul. (Matth. x. 28.) He prayed to God for mercy through Jesus Christ, for comfort and courage that he might not become a reproach among his enemies; he likewise made mention of the martyrs as his patterns, declared his apprehensions of the further misery of Bohemia, and exhorted his wife and son to constancy in the evangelical faith. He resigned himself to the will of God, and was strengthened with the thoughts of the resurrection by Christ Jesus; on his way to the scaffold he prayed with the ministers, and as he passed the imperial judges, he said to them, "Tell your Emperor, that I stand now before his unrighteous judgment, and remind him of God's righteous tribunal." But the continua-

tion of his speech was interrupted by the drums, and the clergyman led him forward. He then proceeded to the place where he was to kneel down and undress himself; and taking a little purse, containing a medal of Frederic's coronation, which he had worn upon his breast, and giving it to some one he said, "When my dear King Frederic shall again sit upon his throne, give it to him, and tell him, that I have worn it round my neck until my death, out of love to him, and also spilt my blood in his cause." He now knelt down, and with the words, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul into thy hands," his head fell. It was also put up over the gate.

It then came to the turn of Frederic Bila, lord of Rzehlowicz; a man of extensive learning, and also of great integrity and honour, formerly Bohemian counsellor, and one of the directors during the interregnum. He was led by German ministers, and bore his punishment with patient resignation to God.

The next was Otto Losz, lord of Komarow. He had been one of the defenders under Rudolph, afterwards (like Kaplirz, Bila, Konezchlumsky, &c.) one of the directors, but under Frederic assessor of the supreme court of judicature, Bohemian sub-chamberlain, and with Count Thurn, burgrave of Karlstein. After receiving the sentence of death, he cried, "Now, dear Emperor, establish thy throne with our blood also!" He too complained of the sentence, especially of the quartering, but said, "If they retained here his head, and sent one quarter of his body to Turkey, another to Spain, a third to Rome, and threw the fourth into the sea, yet his

Redeemer was able to bring it all together and glorify it." When the clergyman entered his prison, he at once rose from his chair full of animation, and exclaimed: "How glad I am that you are come, man of God. I sat here grieved that I am not permitted to have a clergyman of our party, (the Bohemian Brethren) for absolution and communion." He then lifted up his hands and said, "My Saviour, I thank thee, now I die with joy." His further expressions manifested animated hopes. After he had been called, he again prayed; then ascending the steps of the scaffold, he prayed a little while on his knees, and taking off his doublet called on Christ for mercy. He believed that his body was to be quartered, but this was not done, and his relations were permitted to bury him.

The next was Dionys Czernin of Chudenitz. It is remarkable that this individual was a Romanist: but he was certainly a moderate one; his counsels did not satisfy the Jesuits, wherefore he was *suspected* of heresy, and they were not displeased to see him condemned among the rest, since they might avail themselves of a reference, which they invariably made, to the condemnation of Czernin, and a Romanist porter, when they attempted to prove, that it was not religious hatred which dictated these severities. When Rosacius was with Konezchlumsky, Czernin, who was also present, said to him, "I am to die, and know no more of these things than the wall. I am accused of having admitted the states armed into the castle. But I was ordered to do so by the burgrave, Adam Sternberg, whose commands I was bound to obey in the absence of the king. I warned him, when I heard the states approach; but he

ordered me not to lock the gate, as they were friends. If that was wrong and deserving of death, it ought to fall on the burgrave." "God knows all," replied the pastor, "all ought to be resigned to him; he is righteous; he chastens, but has also mercy; pardons sin, and grants eternal life."—Czernin had once been Evangelical, and afterwards joined the Popish Church. Though he could not now partake of the holy communion, he was nevertheless full of devotion, and listened attentively to the exhortations, as he stood at the side of Harant; weeping and lifting his eyes towards heaven. He even smote his breast with emotion, exclaiming: "I also believe all this, and am ready to die in that faith." The minister expressed his joy, especially when he made his confession among the rest, and expressed his hope in the mercy of God, through Jesus Christ. While others partook of the sacrament, he knelt in a corner of the room and prayed very fervently. Afterwards he received the benediction with them. Czernin was led to the scaffold by a canon and a Jesuit. But he did not seem to notice them much. He declined the kiss of peace, and turned his back to their crucifix. Then he fell upon his face and prayed in silence; when he arose, he looked up to heaven and exclaimed: "They may take my body, but they cannot take my soul! Lord Jesus, take thou my soul." He was executed without mercy.

William Konezchlumsky, lord of Spiticz, who now followed, was seventy years old, and lame of one leg. He told the clergyman that he was accused of having held correspondence with the margrave of Jägersdorf, whereby he had betrayed the country and assisted the Emperor's enemies. But he declared

that he knew nothing of that prince; and died commending his spirit to Christ.

Our attention is now directed to Bohuslaw Michalowitz, lord of Ruwenitz, a talented and very religious man, who had previously distinguished himself by his services to the princes of Bohemia. After his sentence he said, that under the then present circumstances, he preferred death to life, even if he should receive his estates back again, because he well knew the secret schemes of the enemies, and their consequences; he also said that the fear and pains of death lasted only for a few hours, but then followed the desired rest. When the minister asked him whether he recognised the sentence as just, he replied: "If we were guilty we should have felt compelled to confess and ask for pardon. But we will not ask for mercy. God knows how our enemies had all this in view beforehand, when they provoked us to the utmost, in order that we might take up arms. They now accuse us of things which never entered our mind. We have sought nothing but liberty of conscience. But we see that God will not have us serve his cause by our sword but by our blood. Let us die;—God will regard the testimony of our blood." After the administration of the communion the minister stayed with Michalowitz to dinner, who evinced great cheerfulness, trusting in the mercy of God, and hoping for eternal life. On the day of his death he remained the same. Before he was called to the scaffold, the minister again exhorted him to be firm, and commend himself to God. But he thanked God that the time of his deliverance drew nigh. He entreated his wife not to grieve too much, and

commended her also to God; who would nourish and protect her with her children, and once more unite them in heaven. He was so full of joy, that as Bila preceded him, he exclaimed: "Why should Bila precede me? I was always above him in life." Then he arose and embraced him, saying: "Go on before me, my brother, since God will have it, I follow thee." When Losz was called after Bila, then Czernin, and Konezchlumsky, it seemed as if he feared that he had been forgotten, and he said: "God, thou knowest my readiness, hasten to deliver me!" When the minister saw the officer return, and told him of it, he exclaimed: "Thanks be to God, worldly distress has ceased, I hasten to Christ." Thus he went to the scaffold, and died rejoicing.

John Theodore Sixtus, a respectable citizen of the old-town was then led to the scaffold; but he received a reprieve through the mediation of the canon Plateys, his sister's son.

The next was Valentine Kochan of Prachowa, citizen and secretary of the new-town of Prague; he belonged to the Bohemian Brethren, and had been one of the defenders of the consistory and the academy under Rudolph. When Ferdinand was received as king in 1617, it was he who observed that no one ought to be chosen, much less crowned, without the consent of Moravia and Silesia. That observation gave such offence that he was deprived of his office of protonotary in the new-town. As he had belonged to the number of directors, he was condemned to death. When Rosacius asked him whether he acknowledged the sentence to be just, he said, that the opposite party had always been hostile to him from the time when he had used that expression regarding

the election, and, if no one dared any longer to speak for his country, it was his duty, as one of the directors, to step forward in a cause whereby the utraquists were to be oppressed. He complained much of want of union among the evangelical parties. That they had at first hindered the grant of religious liberty; but when afterwards the charter was obtained, the indignation of their enemies at this success brought ruin upon them. The following expressions of Kochan are worthy of being recorded. "O, if all the states had employed more thought and diligence in maintaining union, if there had not been so much hatred on both sides; if one had not sought preference before another, and had not given way to mutual suspicions; moreover, if the clergy and the laity had assisted each other with counsel and action, in love, unity, and peace, we should never have been thus far misled." During the time of his imprisonment, Kochan spoke very devoutly, and thereby refreshed himself and others, especially from Phil. iii. 20. When called to the scaffold, he was very desirous to have his son with him that he might be a witness of his death; but Rosacius would not suffer it. After he had taken leave and was going, he said: "My dear Saviour said before his death, 'The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.' But strengthen thou me, O God, and grant that I may overcome the terrible valley of death. Lead me into the land of the living; for thou knowest that I have always loved thee and thy truth." He then sang Ps. xvi. 11, and when upon the scaffold, repeated Luke ii. 29. While kneeling he called aloud in Latin: "Into

thy hands I commend my spirit:"—and his head was struck off.

Next followed Tobias Steffek of Polodicz, also a citizen of the new-town, a man of a quiet spirit and fervent piety. On account of his abilities, the states had appointed him one of the directors. In the prison, under sighing and tears, he was always resigned. When the clergyman spoke to him at his confession, he said, with deep emotion: "Though I was among the number of directors, I was absent during the most important transactions, having to travel about as commissioner; especially as we, the directors from among the citizens, with the exception of Fruhwein, were not much noticed. Thus I really knew nothing of most of the decrees; I only heard that the states could no longer suffer the religious oppression, and they must resist it. How have I deserved death? I have helped to defend the truth of God, and He knows all! If I must die, heaven is my prospect." He was confined in the prison with Kochan, and partook with him of the communion. When called, he looked up with weeping eyes, and his hands raised towards heaven; but consoled himself with the words, "Not mine, but Thy will be done." He prayed to God for a part in the propitiation of Christ, and repeated the words of Rev. xxi. 4. When kneeling to receive the stroke, he called: "Christ, thou lamb of God, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

Then followed John Jessenius of Groszjessen. According to Pelzel he was descended from a noble Hungarian family; but when the city of Ofen fell into the hands of the Turks, the father of Jessenius, removed with his wife to Breslaw, where this learned man was

born in 1566. From his youth he devoted himself especially to the study of medicine, first at Wittemberg and then at Padua, where he enjoyed intercourse with the most learned physicians of his time, so that in 1595, he became doctor. On his return to Wittemberg he began to impart to others the knowledge he had attained, and taught medicine with so much celebrity, that his lecture-room could not contain the numerous attendants. With all this he did not neglect the practice of his profession, in which he had such success, that the Elector of Saxony and several other Princes, chose him as physician in ordinary. The University of Prague, at that time in a very flourishing state, sent a deputation of eminent men, with very advantageous offers, to induce him to take up his residence in that seat of learning. He accepted the invitation, and it is scarcely credible to what a degree he attracted scholars, both by his teaching and practice. The University chose him for their chancellor, and honoured him with the title of *Rector Magnificus*, on which occasion a gold medal was struck to perpetuate his memory. He was finally appointed physician in ordinary to the Emperor Rudolph II. to whom he was recommended by his intimate friend, the famous Tycho Brahe. In that important and lucrative office he was likewise confirmed by the Emperor Matthias, the successor of Rudolph, whose favour he enjoyed as long as he lived. We know not how it was that Jessenius was led to take part in the internal commotions of the country, but he certainly allowed himself to be used by the states, who knew his eloquence and ability; and he undertook two journeys into Hungary, attempting to per-

suade the inhabitants of that kingdom to make common cause with the Bohemians, and revolt from Ferdinand. That undertaking cost him his life. His medical writings are numerous, and he is considered to have been the first who introduced anatomy into Prague. The fame of his learning spread far beyond Bohemia. He had been made prisoner in Vienna during the time of Matthias, but was exchanged for an Italian who had been taken by the states. Having been again seized after the battle of of the White-hill, Ferdinand II. condemned him to a very ignominious death. As a partaker of the sedition, his tongue was to be cut out first, and after beheading, his body was to be quartered, each quarter to be hung up in a different part of the city. An anatomist like him must have been seized with a singular sensation on hearing of such a sentence. He said, "This sentence is indeed ignominious and cruel; but some people will come and inter the skull with honour."*

Most anxious were the Jesuits about the conversion of Jessenius,—but all in vain. They had the impious audacity to promise him immediate entrance into heaven, but Jessenius asked, "Where they would leave purgatory?" As they could do nothing with him, they went away. The Bohemian minister, to whom we are indebted for

* This was indeed accomplished after the victory of Gustavus Adolphus, near Leipzig, when the Elector of Saxony entered Prague, and by his consent, Count Thurn ordered the heads to be taken from the bridge-tower, and had them conveyed in solemn procession, attended by the nobility, the people, and the priests, who had returned from exile, to the Tein Church, and there buried in a place unknown to the opposite party.

most of the above information, accompanied him to the scaffold. The executioner then approached, and demanded his tongue, and drew it out with a pair of tongs. Jessenius doubtless thought of the manner in which he had spoken with it so eloquently before emperors, king, and princes; for in the prison he had mentioned it, and referred to the shame of depriving him of it: he, however, observed, that it would not be wanting in the resurrection; and he now offered it to the horrid operation without hesitation. He then fell upon his knees—prayers the devoted man could no longer utter, but stammer. His hands were tied to his back; then his head was struck off, and put aside to be exposed. His friends did not receive his body, for the executioner put it into a sack, and after the bloody business was over, it was quartered upon the scaffold.

The blood of Christopher Kobr was next required. He belonged also to the directors, and was the eldest of those chosen from among the citizens. After the last communion he returned thanks to the clergyman in his own name, and in the name of his two fellow prisoners, and regretted that he was unable to recompense him, as since his sentence he had been deprived of everything. He also requested the curate to exhort his sons to constancy and the fear of God, and sent a message to his wife, that she should not grieve too much, but remember that God would not forsake them. He spoke also upon Acts xiv. 22. He was reminded of the sufferings of the apostles, Huss and Jerome, and said to the others:—"As we are willing to defend and protect the truth of the gospel, and the apostolic doctrine, we must likewise share in their

sufferings." He then remembered an expression which his minister had quoted from the martyr Ignatius, that "the church at all times grew under blood," and then repeated Matt. v. 11, 12, and when he was called to the scaffold, 2 Tim. i. 12, iv. 7 ; and prayed with the minister.

Kobr now mounted the scaffold, and taking leave of all, turned to the place of execution, and said: "Here shall I die," and added Psalm cxviii. 17.* When undressed he fell upon his knees, and uttered the words of Psalm xxxi. 6 ; and praying to the Saviour for mercy and salvation, he suffered the execution of the severe sentence.

He was followed by Schulz, chief burgomaster of Kuttenberg. When called to die, he quoted Psalm xlii. 6, and reminded the others of the words in the book of Wisdom, iii. 2, 3. He expressed his confidence in God, and mentioned his sons, and a minister dear to him, who was said to have been made prisoner at his own house, and for whom he prayed. He sent him word, that after such a sad farewell, the meeting again before God would certainly be very joyous. On the way to the scaffold he prayed with the minister, and called aloud while yet standing:—"In thee have I trusted from my youth;" then he knelt down, commended his soul to Jesus, and threw himself forward with out-spread arms, exclaiming, "Come, come, Lord Jesus, delay not!" Thus he received the stroke of death. His head was put up on a pole at Kuttenberg before the gate.

* In Bohemia even the Christian laity were at that time well acquainted with the scriptures, as they ever have been, and ever will be, when not hindered by a corrupting clergy.

The next victim was Maximilian Hostialek, chief burgomaster of Saaz, who had also been one of the directors. Respecting his crime, he told the minister, that on account of his wife's illness he had not been at Prague for weeks, and had no share in what had passed, especially that he knew nothing about a letter, in which it was said they requested the Turks' assistance in those Christian affairs. All those who were confined in that prison, as Kobr, Schulz, and Hostialek, solemnly declared, that what they had done, as directors, had no other tendency than the furtherance of the honour of God, of religious liberty and the welfare of the country; that it was for that intention only they were now to suffer; and that the fault of it lay with those who did not accord with them. Hostialek was especially sad in the prison, when he thought of his children. He likewise reflected very seriously on the sins of his youth; and prayed with the minister after he had been called to the scaffold. When there, he knelt down, and while repeating Luke xxiii. 46, his head fell, which was afterwards set up at Saaz.

John Kutnauer followed him; a senator of the old town of Prague, and the youngest of them all; not forty years old, but of high spirit, and in nothing behind the rest. The Jesuits came also to do their part in preparing him for death, but he said: "Will you, gentlemen, leave us alone? We have consolation enough, and we do not want your assistance." But they thought they ought still to be active, and wished to continue. But he replied: "We do not hear, you had better be silent. Why will you give yourselves needless trouble, and

be only burdensome to us?" Then one of the Jesuits said to the other, "These are hard blocks, they will not be moved." "Yes, indeed," replied Kutnauer, "Christ is a firm rock, we stay ourselves upon him and cannot be moved." To his fellow sufferers he said: "I am sentenced to be hanged, yet I know not whether by the neck, or by the legs, or by the ribs. However that may be, I am only grieved, that my blood will not be mixed with yours, my fellow sufferers, and that we are not sacrificed together." When he was called, he felt, under the embraces and kisses of his friends, their tears, and especially of those who were sentenced to imprisonment. He however did not weep, but comforted the others. "Be men, my brethren," said he, "weep not! I only go before you, for a short time, we shall surely meet again in heavenly glory!" With the courage of a lion, and as if to a glorious battle, he marched forward and sang a German verse: "The hour is at hand." Prayer being ended, the executioner came and asked his pardon. He first gave him his purse with the money it contained, then he offered his hands to be bound, and requested him to do his duty, yet mercifully. A beam being fastened to a window of the town-hall for the gallows, he ascended the ladder, and called aloud: "I have formed no conspiracy, I have committed no murder, nor any crime worthy of death. May God forgive mine enemies, they know not what they do. But thou, Lord Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me, to thee I commend my spirit." He was then pushed from the ladder, and thus ended his life.

He was followed to execution by his father-in-law, Simeon Sussizky, who, as he looked through the window and saw the Jesuits coming, warned his fellow prisoners against them. When he heard the fatal discharge of the gun, he said, "This is the signal for our death. Let us arise, and escape the enemies who hate us. We trust to overcome death courageously; but eternal ruin awaits them, if they do not come to their senses." When he was called, he prayed and sang composedly. Being hanged on the beam with his son-in-law, his body turned round, so that their mouths came close together. The mockers declared them to be such obstinate rebels that they did not cease to conspire even in their death.

The next sufferer was Nathaniel Wodniansky, from Straczowa. When the Jesuits attempted to make him apostatize from his confession, he said: "You take our lives, adjudging us as rebels. You are not satisfied with this, but you want our souls also. Be content with our blood, which you will shed to-morrow; but leave us in peace." As the condemned were not hindered from receiving the visits of their relatives, there was with him on the day of execution, his married son John Wodniansky, to whom he gave a commission, to impress his children, and his brothers and sisters, with the pattern of his father's firmness. "You make my heart sad," said the father, "by your weeping; I am not afraid, and hope to pass through death with joy in my conscience." He had also been sentenced to be hanged, but he knew not that a separate gallows had been erected for him in the market

place. Care had thus been taken that the attention of the spectators should be kept alive by some change. When he was obliged to leave the bloody stage, he turned towards the dead Kutnauer and Sussizky, who were hanging from the town-hall, and exclaimed: "Alas, my poor fellow sufferers, how painful it is to me to be separated from you, and to be conveyed to another unworthy place." The minister reminded him of the words in 2 Timothy, ii. 12, and he bore the ignominy patiently.

He was followed by Wenzel Gisbitsky, also called Masterowsky. As he was a relative of Plateys of Olmütz, a Romanist canon (afterwards Bishop,) and had seen an example of mercy conferred upon his cousin Sixtus, there was hope that his life might be spared. On this account the rest already congratulated him, and gave him commissions to their wives and children. But the minister exhorted him not to depend upon it, but to prepare himself for death. When he arrived upon the scaffold, he looked around for a messenger of mercy, but, alas, in vain! Seeing there was no hope, he sang with a loud voice, a few verses, expressing humility and confidence in God; and then knelt down and offered his neck to the sword.*

The following citizens were then called and beheaded:—Henry Kozel of Perzlinowez, Andreas Kozaur, George Rzetschitz, Michael Wittmann, and Simon Wokacz. They were attended by Adam Clements. the minister of St. Wenzel.

* He would certainly have been spared, had he not on the previous day so stoutly resisted the Jesuits, and made them ashamed of their subtil devices.

This sanguinary business* lasted from five o'clock in the morning until ten. The people called the execution of these venerable men "a cruel, tyrannical spectacle," and the scaffold a "slaughtering bench." But others defended the punishments as very lenient. Thus divided were opinions.

The bodies of the sufferers, with the exception of that of Jessenius, were given to their friends for interment.

The next day, the town secretary of Prague, Nicholas Dionysius, was brought to the gallows, and his tongue nailed to it.† This punishment he received because he delivered an oration when Frederic entered as king, and addressed a few words to him at his departure. Thus he had to stand nearly two hours; during which time three of the remaining prisoners were publicly scourged, and then banished for life. When the executioner returned he loosened Nicholas from the gallows; but he was again imprisoned; and after four years banished from the country. He died at Lissa in Poland, in 1647.

The excitement of the Protestants during these executions was very great. But the other party derided them, and said:—"They have well accomplished their directorship—they have well conquered the Catholics; their power is now broken." The Protestants had nothing to offer in reply but tears.

* Similar to this was the day of blood at Pilsen, 1634, when, after many secret executions, twenty-four of the most eminent men were executed upon one scaffold, under pretence of their being the accomplices of Wallenstein.

† This was properly the punishment of blasphemers and scorners of religion.

The words of Jesus were now accomplished, "Ye shall weep and lament; but the world shall rejoice."

We must yet mention the peculiar circumstances attending the death of Martin Frühwein. He was one of the most respectable citizens of Prague, and a celebrated advocate. The states had for many years made use of his counsel. Soon after the capture of Prague, in 1621, he was taken prisoner by the soldiers in his own house, and tortured by them in a manner so shocking, that for six months he suffered the most excruciating pains. When the rest were imprisoned, he was first conveyed to the town-hall, then to the white tower near the castle, and condemned to solitary confinement; but he was finally found dead on the 7th of June, at the foot of the tower in the garden of the castle. A report was spread that his conscience had driven him to despair, and that he had destroyed himself. It was therefore ordered, that his body should be taken to the White-hill, and there be beheaded and quartered. The report of his suicide is very improbable, especially when we remember that he was in prison, and attended by a guard.

An oration to the memory and honour of the above-mentioned victims, was printed in 1621, with the title, "Parentatio Heroibus Bohemis a Ferdinando II°. indigna passis," containing several passages worthy of quotation. It was written by the learned Bohemian, Zachaeus Pulegius de Zybisin, who, like many others, had emigrated from Prague to the Netherlands after those times of bloodshed.* The

* This work is not even mentioned in Pelzel's Bohemian literature of the year 1621 (ii. 991). The copy which we have before

book itself is very scarce. The author evidently views them as martyrs for the truth — and so they certainly were; for though put to death for their boldness in electing Frederic and resisting Ferdinand, yet it was zeal for the Protestant cause, and a desire to preserve evangelical religion in Bohemia, that animated them in the pursuit of those measures which eventually led them to the scaffold. We may question their judgment, and arraign their prudence—but the motives which actuated the great majority are above suspicion, and their sincerity and patriotism are worthy of the highest praise.

After minutely detailing the circumstances which preceded the execution of the prisoners, he says of them collectively:—"they were men, who, as to mental gifts, were almost incomparable, as to lustre of family, of the highest nobility; distinguished by honours and dignities, favoured with brilliant prosperity, and who did not seek fame from pertinaciousness, or a vain spirit of liberty that challenged fate; —no, they brought upon themselves the anger of our enemies through their sense of religion, their love to their country, their humanity towards their fellow citizens, their valour against their enemies, their perseverance in danger, their high and aspiring spirit, which only sought glory in great and exalted virtue. I shudder to think, venerable fathers,* that the splendour of the conquest only existed in this—

us is from the library of Dietrich Stade, and is now the property of the Rathsbibliothek at Zittau, where this affecting little work has perhaps lain untouched for ages.

* It is supposed that this oration was delivered before an assembly of distinguished men in Amsterdam.

that in the presence of all Prague, those men were sacrificed, who had been led to expect forgiveness and mercy, and that the Prince thus entering upon the Bohemian government, has no other fame to bring with him to the throne than the triumph of the executioner." When speaking of Count Schlik he uses the following expressions:—"He only counted as good that which was just, and bad that which was unjust; nobility and other external circumstances had no value with him. He was the author of the German edition of the Apology of the Bohemian States, and an able writer under the name *Beatus Modestinus*." He also praises Budowa, "the last Bohemian," as "a man of distinguished talents, to the highest degree acquainted with the laws of God and man, of Herculean and most enduring assiduity, widely famed for his distant travels, and frequent embassies, and by his connection with the most renowned theologians. In his more mature age involving himself in deeper studies, not to cover inert leisure with high titles, but in order to become more fit for the offices of the state, and to be better established against coming evils; he was faithful and zealous in great affairs during the time of peace, and the most firm man in time of danger."

In a lengthened strain of eulogy the orator continues to speak of Harant, Kaplirz, Jessenius, and others, and thus concludes:—"I hail you, ye heroes, worthy of a better fate and lasting memory. But, why do I lament? why complain? It is now only that they carry away the fame sprung from Bohemian blood, and are valued as worthy children of their father-land and their ancestors; now, after

they have heard the sentence of death with unshaken fortitude, and have shed their blood with heroic firmness." . . . . . "Now, ye great and blessed spirits, who have firmly and willingly endured death, adieu; and call us away from effeminate longing and lamentation, to the contemplation of your virtues, which we are bound to imitate!"

Among those whose lives were spared was Dr. Borbonius, a very distinguished man, and physician in ordinary to three emperors. Prince Lichtenstein, who considered him not guilty of the political crimes laid to his charge, obtained his pardon, and appointed him as physician to himself. But this offended the Popish party, especially the imperial judge, John Chrysostom Schrepel, who, coveting his beautiful house, overwhelmed him with accusations. He could scarcely conceal his hatred; and, at last, unable to restrain his anger, he gave orders to his beadles to attack Borbonius in the public street upon his return from the Prince, and to follow and beat him with clubs. Lichtenstein was evidently indignant at this outrage, but it remained unpunished.

This physician, though he did not suffer death for conscience-sake, may nevertheless be called a true confessor. For, notwithstanding the Prince, and others commissioned by him, often spoke seriously with Borbonius about changing his religion, it invariably proved in vain. His answer to Martinitz Smeczansky is very remarkable. The latter besought him with the most beguiling words and professions of friendship, and even with embraces, to become a Romanist, adding, "O, dear Borbonius, how wonderfully you would promote the cause of the Catholic faith, and the salvation of

many, through your example." "Nay," replied he, "it would rather be detrimental to your church, if I joined it." Upon his question, "how so?" he continued:—"Surely, my lord count, my conscience is so tender that I could not bear at all that violence be done to it. If, then, I apostatized, I should have nothing to expect but remorse, grief, and torment, which would drive me to despair; and if I were to die in the midst of such struggle and terror, would that be anything else than a warning to others?" Finding him thus unshaken, the Prince hated him, and he was banished from the country in 1623. He then went to Poland, where the King made use of his medical advice, and he died at Thorn, in Prussia, on the 16th of Dec. 1629, about the age of 70. At first he went to Zittau, where, as Pelzel says, there were so many exiles, that he could scarcely obtain a lodging. But they were glad when he, with many others, departed for Thorn, as they did not like to receive any of the "Reformed" to whom he belonged.

The sufferings of the poet Simon Lomnizky of Budecz also deserve to be mentioned here. He had been made a noble by the Emperor Rudolph, under whose government he lived very happily. But as he afterwards held with the party of Frederic, and published certain poems, in which he satirized Ferdinand II., he was apprehended, and though more than 60 years of age, condemned to receive 100 lashes. He hardly got away alive, and had afterwards to beg his bread upon the bridge of Prague. He also wrote sacred poetry.

The punishments of blood were followed by fines, and the confiscation of the estates of the

opulent, which the Romanists believed best calculated to repress the insurrectionary spirit of the Bohemians. That this might be the more effectually accomplished, Prince Lichtenstein issued an imperial mandate, strictly enjoining all the wealthy inhabitants to appear before him, and acknowledge and ask pardon for their crimes, if guilty of any. Those who would not obey, and thus convict themselves, were threatened with the Emperor's displeasure. In consequence of this proclamation there appeared 728 gentlemen and knights. Almost all were of Bohemian nobility. They gave in their names, impeached themselves, acknowledging their crime, and then sued for pardon.

The following sentence was then read to each :— "You, N. N. have indeed forfeited your life, honour, and property, but through the clemency of the Emperor, your honour and life are granted you; but as for your estates, the Emperor will deal with them at his pleasure." Many thus lost their whole estate, others the half, and others a third part. These were sold, and about 24,000,000 schock* fell to the royal exchequer. William Slawata, the chancellor of Ferdinand II., writes, "that many innocent persons were in this manner deprived of their estates, and banished from the country, through the covetousness of the state officers; and many fell into despair on account of the severity with which they were treated." A certain knight, named Rciczan, who had been thus despoiled of his property, stirred up the common people, and putting himself at the head of several thousands of them,

* Schok-groschen, *penny*, of which 60 make a mark, 3*s*. 4*d*.; which would give the sum of £66,666. 13*s*. 4*d*.

attempted to surprise the fortress of Burglütz, where some Bohemian gentlemen were confined, but he was repulsed with great loss. Insurrection was also apprehended in Prague; and on this account the citizens were deprived of their arms, and the shop-keepers prohibited from selling gunpowder under severe penaltics.

But the imperialists did not seek so much to punish the guilty as the rich; for those possessed of little wealth were seldom sought after. Moreover, their strange judges merely sported with the crime, and when any one appeared able to justify himself, he was told that at all events he was tainted with original sin, and being a heretic, and rich, he could by no means remain unpunished. Such expressions were often heard from the mouth of the Cardinal Dietrichstein, and his secretary, Paul Michna. The Evangelicals were thus in some measure comforted, seeing they did not suffer as evil-doers, but on account of their faith.*

Men of the Papal religion now divided among themselves the estates which had been forfeited, according as this or that village, or castle, or domain was most conveniently located near their own estates, and could be obtained from the Emperor. But by far the greater part fell into the hands of foreigners, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, who, as imperial officers, received them as their pension. If there

* The conduct of persecutors on account of religion, when applicable to the clergy, would most likely, if traced to its true cause, be the fear of *losing* property derived to them through undue influence over their flocks; and when applicable to the laity, the hope of *gain* seems to have been in all ages and countries the leading motive.

were any estates of widows and orphans which could not be taken away without the appearance of violence, there was no lack of people, who strove, like Ahab, after the vineyard of Naboth.

The punishments decreed upon the unfortunate Bohemian nobility fell thus not only upon their persons, but also upon their posterity, for their hereditary estates passed over to other masters, often, indeed, to foreign adventurers. Some ancient names passed entirely away; for it soon became almost a shame to be known as a Bohemian, and several families translated their names into German.

The Emperor also had commanded the charters granted to the Bohemians by their ancient kings to be brought to Vienna. As he took them out of the chest with his own hands, he exclaimed:—"Is this the trash which caused our ancestors so much trouble?" After examining the parchments separately, he threw them into the fire. Adam Waldstein, burgrave of Prague, who had been obliged to convey them, was present, and shuddered at the sight.*

In considering the manifold distresses of Bohemia, it must not be forgotten, that although Ferdinand had vanquished Frederic upon the White-hill, the miseries of war still continued to spread terror through the western districts of the country. Mansfeld, still acting as Frederic's field-marshal, took Schlackenwald and Tepel, and sent his roving troops as far as the neighbourhood of Prague. Maximilian of Bavaria and Tilly marched against him, and eventually dispossessed him of Pilsen, Ellbogen, and

* The truth of these circumstances is not clearly established; hence those charters may be still in existence.

Falkenau, and forced Tabor to surrender; so that finally the whole of the kingdom was reduced to obedience.

While these events were taking place in Bohemia, the neighbouring country of Moravia did not escape suffering. Shortly before the executions at Prague, the Evangelical nobility, who were accused of participating in the proceedings of the Bohemians, were summoned before the commissioners by command of the Emperor, and confined in the prisons of Brünn and Olmütz. They would gladly have put them to death; but because they had willingly surrendered in the battle of Prague, the Emperor promised solemnly to save them from punishment. Some were liberated in exchange for certain canons, who had been captured by Bethlehem Gabor. Others remained in confinement above three years, and only obtained their liberty through earnest intercession; but their estates, and the estates of those who had escaped, fell to the treasury of the Emperor, and were afterwards divided among the Romanist nobility and the Jesuits. The difference consisted merely in this—that those who were released from prison were not declared infamous like those who had fled. The names of the latter were nailed on the gallows. To these belonged Wenzel Bitowsky of Bitow, lord of Bistritz and Prusenowitz, one of the directors at the time of the interregnum. In the year 1627, he was taken prisoner at Brandenburg, and sent to Moravia. By the command of Cardinal Dietrichstein (who cordially hated him) he was put to the rack, and repeatedly examined, but all in vain. At last he was condemned to the sword, which he endured with great firmness, in the

market-place at Brünn. No one had been permitted to visit him in prison, or accompany him to the scaffold; but during his confinement he entirely devoted himself to reading the Scriptures, to meditation and prayer; and from his letters to his wife, and his demeanour when led out to receive the stroke of death, it was evident that he died in the true faith, and with steadfast hope in God.

END OF VOL. I.

NORMAN AND SKEEN, PRINTERS, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.